

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence -- Year 1961

- 01_01 +Letter to Ruth (Bullock, Vancouver) re: conflict with Jerry (H) and his role in Branch 2, discussion of some personalities
- 01_03 Letter Jerry and Ruth (H.) re: the situation in Vancouver branch 2 and necessity to let the City Executive function
- 01_06 +Letter to Ruth re: cancelled Cuba tour from Montreal
- 01_08 Letter to Frank, Kenora ON, re Stalinists and New Party purge
- 01_27 Letter to Vancouver Comrade George Brown
- 01_30 Letter to Jerry and Ruth (H.) re Cuba support work
- 01_31 Letter to Comrades (Ruth & Jerry H., copy to Harold) re FPCC set up in Toronto and need for Vancouver chapter
- 02_00 Letter (undated found in Feb.) to Harry (Ring, editorial board, *The Militant*, SWP) news copy re CLC meeting
- 02_05 Letter to Bert G., Montreal re Montreal contacts (Henri Gagnon), Cuba defense work in Toronto
- 02_08 Letter to Ruth (H., Vancouver) re: FPCC, CCF sponsorship, Fair Play for Cuba Cttee work in Ontario
- 02_08B Letter to Stan G., Brandon Man. re Toronto area union work; need for New Party and Cuba defense work in Manitoba
- 02_09 Letter to Ruth (and Jerry H.): re possibilities of FPCC in Toronto and need for BC support
- 02_09B Letter to Ronnie Somerlott (USA) re information on socialist movement
- 02_15 (2 pages) CN Telegram to R. Bullock, North VanBC re: (PC) regrets BC document on (New Party formation) not positive and politics not clear
- 02_20 Letter to Comrades, re two Vancouver documents and the need instead for a totally new and dynamic approach to the New Party, signed Kent
- 02_24 Handwritten note to Ruth & Jerry (H.) in Vancouver re press, BC articles, etc.

- 02_25 Letter to Comrades re the situation in Vancouver, need to present FPCC as united front, not Trotskyist front or allow Stalinist takeover.
- 02_27 Letter to Joe (Hansen, SWP) re the Stalinist lie machine on our support for the Cuban Revolution
- 03_01 Letter to Ruth and Jerry (H.) welcoming their return to Toronto if need be
- 03_11 Letter to Cliff (Cotton, at Trotsky School, SWP) re: Jerry's work in Vancouver
- 03_11B +Letter to Reg (Bullock, Vancouver) re: Fair Play for Cuba, Jerry and Ruth leaving BC unfortunately, factionalism
- 03_12 Letter to Lillian (W.) in Vancouver re disputes in B.C.
- 03_20 Letter to NC Members of West Coast re perspective for fusion of two Vancouver branches
- 03_22 Leaflet: "Hear Robert Williams on The Case for Cuba!" FPCC, Vancouver
- 03_28 Letter to Comrade Nick (S.), Vancouver: re organizing a national fund drive
- 04_02 Letter to Lillian (W.), Vancouver, re: New Party caucus statement
- 04_02B Letter to Gabriel G., Montreal re: news of Quebec and reaction to New Party?
- 04_03 Letter to Cliff (Cotton) report of Toronto branch activities
- 04_09 Letter to Lillian (W.) (Vancouver) re: functioning of City Executive
- 04_13 Letter to Vancouver Branch One, Comrades, from the PC requesting a balance sheet of 6-month City Executive
- 04_23 +Minutes of Political Committee: PC instructs Branch #1 return to City Executive; endorses BC proposal to fuse SIC and SEL
- 05_01 Letter to John Edwards, Brantford ON inviting a SWP contact to discuss joining Canadian movement and the New Party
- 05_08 +Minutes of the PC: discussion on Vancouver situation; the necessity to proceed with an open movement able to confront the New Party as the legitimate left wing; clarifications on PC decision on joint City Executive;

- call for launching a new national organization (LSA is leading name choice); discussion on nature of Cuban Revolution
- 05_09 Letter to Joe, Minneapolis on growth of the Canadian movement and its activities
- 05_16 Letter to Reg (Bullock) on moving forward with announcement of a new organization
- 05_17 Letter to Farrell (Dobbs, SWP) re Cuban Fourth Internationalists
- 06_11 Letter to Ruth (Bullock) Vancouver re: public launching of League for Socialist Action
- 06_12 Letter to Farrell (Dobbs, SWP) re: no word on Cuba tour
- 06_14 +Minutes of the PC: Vancouver Branch 1 refuses to endorse LSA and argues against City Executive participation
- 06_15 Letter to Vancouver Branch One, Comrades: re failure to comply with PC decisions that both branches render a balance sheet of the 6-month experience of the City Executive
- 06_17 Telegram from Malcolm Bruce & Ruth Bullock hailing the founding of the LSA (jpeg image)
- 06_20 +CN Telegram: "Inform immediately of your and Lillian('s) view on Cuba (stop) Minority or majority; signed Ross"
- 06_25 Letter to Tom (Kerry, SWP) re early defections from FPCC
- 06_28 Letter to the SWP Political Committee, Comrades: re necessity to maintain ISR at all costs (SWP theoretical journal)
- 06_30 Letter to Ruth Bullock, Vancouver: on the SWP debate on Cuba, which the Canadian movement is following; Toronto work in FPCC; no word yet from Branch One
- 06_30B Letter to Malcolm (Bruce, Vancouver) re LSA-SWP relations
- 06_99 **"What the League for Socialist Action IS, And What It Stands For:"**
For a class struggle program; A Party for Peace, not War; Public Ownership, Planning; Rank and File Democracy; (the NPD as) A Fighting Alternative See: *Workers Vanguard*, June 1961)

- 07_00 Letter (undated in July section) to George Brown, Vancouver on the question of nationalization without indemnification, in Cuba and England
- 07_16 Letter to Ruth (Bullock) re support of Argue in New Party leadership race
- 07_17 Letter to Comrades (Vancouver) re NP convention, signed Kent
- 07_19 Letter to Comrades (circular?) re our explicit support for Argue's left bid for New Party leadership
- 07_99 (undated speech notes found in 1961) "**The New Party and the Struggle for an anti-war policy;**" the NDP leadership seek to dump CCF anti-NATO and anti-nuclear arms policies
- 08_11A Letter to John R., Germany, re: RD delegate at New Party (now NDP) founding convention, the NATO debate, East Germany
- 08_11B Letter to Malcolm Bruce, Vancouver re New Party orientation; the NDP founding convention
- 08_11C Letter to Ruth (Bullock), Vancouver, re. M. Bruce's position on our support for Argue at NDP founding convention
- 08_11D Letter to Murry (Weiss?), New York (SWP) on the YS and the NDY (NDP youth)
- 08_11E Letter to Joe (Hansen, SWP) re: International Cttee (caucus of sections outside IS-FI)
- 08_12 Letter to Alex McC., Van Anda, BC re: nature of Mine-Mill leadership in Sudbury, ON; Steel union challenge
- 08_14 Document with letter from RD, copies to SWP, SLL, Paris, Vancouver: "**Report on discussions held with comrades from the Cuban Section, Fourth International (IS)**" re: suppression of *Voz Proletaria & Permanent Revolution*
- 08_15 Letter to Peter (Schultz? Hull, Que.) re: his and comrades' visits to Cuba
- 08_16 Letter to Joe (Hansen, SWP) re report on Cuba from Vern Olson
- 09_02 Letter to Farrell (SWP) re nomination of E .Tate for Trotsky School
- 09_07 Letter to David McG., Cumberland BC, sending literature and a report on the movement

- 09_13 Letter to the *Telegram*, Toronto (daily) re RCMP search for Robert Williams, NAACP leader
- 09_19 Letter to Comrade Bill (W., Vancouver) re lack of information about the B.C. left, hope that Branch One returns to City Executive
- 09_23 Document: "**Prospectus presented to K. McDougall, Pres. Local 938, IBTCW&H (Teamsters)**" by J. Skoglund & P. Kent in collaboration with the Teamster caucus
- 09_24 **Letter to Farrell (Dobbs, SWP)** re militant Teamsters caucus in promising situation with leader of Local 938
- 09_25 +Letter to Ruth and Reg (Bullock, Vancouver) re: Centre opposed to Branch 1's proposal for a parity committee
- 09_99 +(Undated note, found in 1961) to Ruth (Bullock?): re: language leaflets for several Toronto barns (Teamsters)
- 10_05 Letter to John R., Germany: developments in the international movement, and Fair Play for Cuba in Ontario
- 10_11 Letter to Farrell (SWP) re invitation to speak in Canada
- 10_11B +(Handwritten letter) to Reg (Bullock, Vancouver): shipping copies of *Vanguard* & LSA statement to BC NDP convention
- 10_13 +Letter to Reg (Vancouver): no parity but participate in District Committee as hall is property of the movement, union question
- 10_19 Letter to Gabriel G., Montreal re: the left at the NDP convention, and in B.C.
- 10_20 Letter to Valoree S., Calgary re: her loss of her job because of support of Cuba, her attendance at Ottawa NDP convention
- 10_22 Letter to Ruth (H.) re possible gossip about Vancouver members and recruits
- 11_02 Letter to Gordon Bryden, NDP (right-winger) re application to join the NDP
- 11_04 Letter to CBC, Montreal re Colvin R. de Silva interview
- 11_05 Letter to John R. (abroad in Europe?), on his reading, developments in Toronto, international developments

- 11_07 Letter to Farrell (SWP, New York) re funds for Latin American tour; questions re international discussions
- 11_16 **Document/letter:** Political Committee circular decision to dissolve Vancouver Branch One, after refusal to return to City Executive
- 11_16B Letter to Jim (James P. Cannon, SWP) re his recovery, and local Stalinists roughing us up at CPSU 2nd Congress report
- 11_27 Letter to Ruth Bullock, Vancouver re joint membership application from ex-Branch One comrades
- 12_06 Letter to Malcolm (Bruce), Vancouver: re Branch 1 and other party matters; why we protested Soviet nuclear testing; on the question of supporting right-wing NDP candidate Winch
- 12_12 Letter to George (--) re not supporting Mine-Mill against Steel, which has support of young militants
- 12_24 Letter to Hannah (companion of Ernie Tate), New York re: personal scuttlebutt on developments in the movement
- 12_24B Letter to John (R., in Germany) on the Pabloists, and Joe (Hansen's) reports from Pabloists and others in Chile & Argentina
- 12_28 Letter to David McG., Cumberland (BC), re: Jerry McKinney and his work in the CP; East & West coast Trotsky schools

- BC

96/1961
January 1, 1960-1961

Dear Ruth;

Sorry to have been so long in answering your November 23rd letter--and now there is your December 23rd letter.

Let me take up the latest first. I have known Jerry as a revolutionary socialist and as a man for I guess 6 or 7 years now. He is one of the most dedicated socialists I have met. He has a good grasp of our ideas and has a strong loyalty to our movement. Some of his strong points politically are his honesty, and his doggedness. But I know from my own experience that these characteristics have been on occasion transformed into something quite far removed from their origins.

I have never known him to be as abusive, as arrogant and as intolerant as you suggest in your letter but I do not find your presentations so far removed from certain episodic experiences that I have had to disbelieve them.

Obviously such behaviour cannot be ignored. It is not only in the interest of the party in general but in the interests of developing comrade Jerry himself as the ~~most~~ effective revolutionary that we all know he aspires to be that we come to grips with this problem.

Of course as you well know he is not an agent of the PC or of Toronto endowed with any special powers or authorities. Even if in some way we were able to in some way invest ourselves with such authority you well know that it is completely contrary to all our concepts of organization. Jerry is a member of the Vancouver branch - like any other member subject to the discipline of the Vancouver branch in this case Branch 2. If he is to be expected to conduct himself in anyway different from others it would be in a way that accurately reflected his strikingly positive features which we all knew.

I am sure that we are all aware of what lies behind Jerry's conduct as you describe it (and which I am not questioning). He has in the face of the possibilities as he sees them before us and the responsibilities as he sees are ours developed a great impatience about the situation there. It appears obvious that he wants to bring about immediate unity of the two branches. In his impatience to realize this he has drawn some very sharp conclusions about everyone involved in the situation which possibly have certain elements of truth but which are not a balanced and rational evaluation.

I think that you comrades there should bring him up to a halt. No one, no matter what the scope of his contribution has the right to interfere in the normal processes of the meetings, to heckle, interject etc. No one has the right to label any other comrade anyone's stooge, to be insulting or abusive. I think there are many ways of coming to grips with such situations. He can be ruled out of order.

out of order, he can be asked to withdraw, to apologize, he can be censored, he can be asked to leave the meeting. I know you knew about these various methods of assuring proper comradely relations are maintained in our branch meetings. and city executive meetings.

I have only raised ~~this~~ previously what I think lies behind Jerry's conduct not in anyway as an apology--there can be none if his conduct has been as you say. I raise it primarily so that you and the rest of the comrades ~~will~~ watch that you ~~do~~ not take any imtemperate actions.

For instance do you think anything particularly is gained by removing Jerry from the city executive. The motivation outlined in Shelly's note are factional--that he has not supported the decisions of Branch 2 or the decisions at the national conference as Shelley understands them--and that he has carried on a disruptive and insulting campaign against other branch 2 delegates. Aside from Jerry Branch 2 is well represented-having the majority without counting him. He certainly doesn't represent the viewpoint of anyone in Branch 1 on the decisions of the national conference. ---on the decisions to move out. Grieve in snide little asides is still campaigning against the convention orientation. The matter of personal relations will of course be resolved on the branch plane where they are only being carried over from onto the city executive. I would be much concerned about the impact of any such action on Branch 1. The whole thing comes at a bad time too--for with Malcolm's letter which I understand you are voting on you are asking the PC to affirm or deny your interpretation of the convention opinion on the aims and objectives, the character of the city executive.

I believe that Malcolm's interpretation of the convention decision is substantially correct--I would only move out a little more from it. The PC will be informing you of its opinion to this effect. I would think that this will have a settling effect on the situation and probably make such organizational moves as Shelly suggests not only unnecessary but inadvisable.

It is now twelve midnight and I must close. Will pick up many of the other matters you raise in your letters at first opportunity.

fraternally

Ross

January 3, 1960

1961

Dear Jerry and Ruth:

bounty

Bounty

Mostly Jerry since I see that there is a bounty on his head.
I have intended to write you this note a dozen times but I thought
that I was racing against time with the paper but now so many things
have piled up so to hell with it. This is the most important anyway
as you will have received a copy of the comments on the city executive
minutes that I am sure you have many disagreements, even strong one.

You have no idea how much time this situation developing in
the Teamseters is taking. I was at long last expecting I would have a
clear day to work on the paper yesterday but they wanted a party member
caucus --started at 1;30 and I finally proffed a stencil with Harry
about 7:45. I will be glad when Sunday come around as the vote starts
then and the campaign is ended. But what if we get elected and the
fellows--all of them are quite confident that we will get a couple.
Yesterday they were seriously talking about the wages and how we would
use them for FWD.

But the big question--Vancouver. You say that it is necessary to enforce convention decisions. Of course one of the best things we could have at hand to help settle this would be the document on launching the open left wing of the New Party. I feel very badly about my failure to have this off. But we havent it off and want for a few weeks and things are moving.

I think that there is a real and lasting lesson in this—that nothing absolutely nothing can be solved by organizational methods. Many times you just create bigger headaches than before.

I remember taking the mike and talking about fusion in action. If at the time of the convention Branch one had walked away then we would have had a solution of a kind I cared. ..they would have broken on political grounds and in all probability they would have dissapeared. etc. But they didn't walk away. Therefore the only thing that could be done with both branch one and two was to go through some more experiences—hence with City executive. The city executive idea had many merits not the least being that we decided to launch ourselves as an organized left wing in the new party. This would compel us I think to have a common public front in Vancouver at least move in that direction — in the meantime

As we moved out in this direction in Vancouver--you recall we talked about holding something like the rallies that our English comrades have held we would be arguing and discussing with branch one and two, straightening out some and settling accounts with others. At anyrate the city executive could long be merely an exchange of information bureau—it would inevitably start to carry out actions commonly agreed upon—after all neither has extensive forces.

Ruth talks about the CE being a temporary organization—I think thereby expressing their old doubts about it distaste of it and hope that somehow it will disappear. But there are two groups in Vandoucer calling themselves Trotskyist. If they are unable to realize an organic unity they must at least inevitably find some basis of collaboration—particularly when there is little or no consistant difference which even appears to be developing into a distinct political tendency. They both may make a farce of the city executive but try as they may they can not get around it or some variation of it as long as they both claim to be Trotskyist and in some sense act as Trotskyists.

One might think that the best possible development would be that they both split apart and the best element from each came together and constituted the movement on a new basis in Vancouver. But at this time this is only a pipe dream. There are no tendencies in this direction. At best anyone holding this view could at this time only hope to pick up a few people from both who would constitute themselves as a third group. And even so as long as the other two existed and carried on even a modest activity ~~they~~ you could ~~not~~ ignore them, you couldn't get around the need for some kind of city executive. This would be true even if both one and two proved to be exhausted of any worthwhile material and this person were able to establish connections among new layers—as long as they existed they would have to be taken into account. Of course as time went on some possible third group might develop in such a scope as to be able to move on a broad plane quite independently of the other two —success in this would either overcome the differences through fusion or dissipation of the forces of the others.

But the hard reality of the situation right now is that the two groups exist and Trotskyism must get a hearing

In my opinion—in the opinion of Alan, Ernie and John the version presented by Malcolm of the convention is by and large an accurate one. We did not decide to force organic unity—we could have carried out such a decision. We set up the City executive to bring about fusion in action. to exchange information to co-ordinate our efforts in areas where both one and two had forces—to move forward in the direction of launching a public left wing caucus in the NP. Of course with the long history of differences of a largely personal character, then too differences in orientation this is not an easy and comfortable body to work in. It requires patience, in many cases I would think a sort of divorce in order to keep the proper perspective Malcolm presents the CE is somewhat a static way— heavy on the exchange of information weak on coming to agreement and mobilization of forces around an activity which would find one and two in common agreement. Of course no group should be seriously inhibited by the other. ~~This maximizes the minimum in the maximum~~ Each is able to go forward without the other when there is no agreement about an action. But when one has a good action it is difficult to believe that the other won't be under considerable pressure to go along and that one confident of ~~the~~ its authority in the situation would not seek the aid of the other.

At anyrate the city executive is not recognized by either branch as other than a coordinating body. Branch one is not prepared to accept any discipline from the CE as it is a minority on it a minority of one—branch two is not prepared to accept discipline from the CE as it really didn't want the CE in the first place but found that it had to go along with it. ~~This maximizes the minimum in the maximum~~ But the CE has the possibility of becoming something more than an information bureau for there are many activities inevitably coming up which both cannot help but agree are necessary and cannot effectively be conducted without the employment of boths forces. For instance I thought it particularly worthwhile to point out that there were no directives with regards to Reg's comments on a fair play for cuba committee

They could beef about the picket line, about Grieve and many other related incidents but it is difficult not to talk if not impossible not to talk in a practical manner about a FPFCC without common agreement with branch one. They claim that Branch one ties these matters up in knots with endless queries delays etc. But here we in the East can come into action. As we have. latexx it is true. Should have thought of this before. I dont think that the city executive is at all finished. After all the convention set it up. I see now that we should get the PC involved in some aspects of it. We are in a position to move in on such a matter as the FPFCC if there is any stall--no one can oppose it—at most they can just let it slip by by doing nothing.

I gather from two long and detailed letters from Ruth , one from Malcolm and a note signed by Shelley that you have been putting everyone in his place. I know there is much grounds for telling everyone what you really think of them and I suppose after suppressing this for a long time t ere is a certain satisfaction. But do you think that anything has been gained byt it. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I know that it is hard to always guide oneself by what is good and in the interest of the movement when it comes to dealing with some of the West Coast comrades. But it would seem from these various letters that your fire wasn't concentrated vut splattered onto everyone and that the term of reference were such as to make it difficult for anyone to overlook it. It would seem to me that you have done a lot of harm to the good will and respect that you have built up over the previous period and which you are certainly worthy of. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ They have appealed to us to intervene. Well how can we here defend a comrade who calls another a stooge. We cant d fend that act.on as such. We wrote them and told them that this is a matter for them to handle—~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I tried as much as I could to tell them their responsibility in creating the background. I hope that they think twice about removing you from the CE. Then they will have transformed the CE really and truly just into an ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ information bureau...when if you are able to handle things right it can be an instrument for the unification of the party there which doesn't necessarily mean one branch and if not that ~~is~~ a vehicle for sorting out the good elements from the worked out ones. We have told Ruth that we consider your removal to be entirely motivated by factional reasons and that since they are well assured of the majority on the CE anyway we think that they should not remove you.

We are straightening up this matter of the minutes. I took for granted that the NC members would be meeting out there to give us the benefit of their collective opinion. ..much more valuable than getting a letter from this one and another from that one. For instance Malcolm and Reg had totally different opinions on the handling of the elect on issue of the paper. Malcolm wanted us to use the election issue for the national issue with only a few adustments—Reg would ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ demand two issues with the national one having only a minor article. Did they exchange views—doubtful. I dropped a note in the copy of the minutes that I sent Reg asking him what he thought of one copy going out... and I must confess without giving it muc.. prominence in my mind that I t ought one copy would encourage a meeting. At anyrate right now Ernie is typing out a copy for everyone. And we have agreed to send both one and two copies of Toronto minutes—really small potatoes but they build them up.

Thanks for the inofmrmati on on the editor set up. I had forgotten about the details of the convention in this respect. We made a real mistake in not having recorded minutes at that convention.. Will handle this at the next ~~MPC~~ meeting.

Now dont get me wrong on this previous material. I tend to agree with you that in manyway we have to start from scratch out there—that most of the material we have now is played out. I recall your reference to some comments about the situation in the CPSU as seen by Zinoviev or was it Trotsky. But that doesn't at all mean that we can completely jump over this material even if we were convinced that t ere is nothingthere—and I am not convinced of this. As I see it we have to go about our business without being too agitated by this or that situation, chosing our grunds to f ght on and to educate anyone who can be educated. I dont think I would be hesitant about taking anyone I came across into either branch. I dont t jink some of these comrades are too difficult to make an appreciation of.

I feel badly about not being of more positive aid. Why dont you make very concrete propositions from time to time.

Noted the part about our "comrades" stand at Stanley Park re-the Vanguard. But we cannot do anything here on such a matter—could be taken up by persons who were there on the respective branch floors.

I went through the branch correspondence and the minutes on the GE which were they deal with the hall and its use by Branch 2. From the records—which are of course what we have to work from it would appear that Branch ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxrighttwo~~ has committed no offence. From the records anyway. What do you think of our moving out to urge that the hall be placed in the hands of the GE. Interested to know the reaction

Noted your comments with regards to Young's paper appeal to other socialists to appear on the editorial board or contributors list of Press. I think that here is a place where we can cut into those fatuous comments about this little organ and that little organ. Our comrades should not be identified with that sectarian rag of Young's. It is scandalous in my opinion that Malcolm has not written anything for our paper over his name yet while he has done so many times in Young's paper which cannot in my opinion be justified on the basis that it provides any audience of any importance for our ideas. The gain is not at all for our ideas—it is a one way street—all gain to the Press for any of us to appear in it...particularly when these same persons so persistantly fail to identify themselves with our paper. Should an opportunity present itself I think that this should be taken up—not in passing—not in a sniping way but in detail and in an educational way. The forum with Young sounds like a good idea.

Tom and Mona have arrived. Already Alan has asked Tom if Mona is coming to the branch meeting and joining the branch as he feels from what he has heard her say in Vancouver that she does not agree with our viewpoint. Tom was surprised and commented something to the effect that she has changed in the meantime. Jerry and Dave Mcikinney seem to be fitting in well. Jerry is not working yet—but Dave got a terrific job—\$60 a week—as a runner at Massey Harris—an office job of sorts going out into the plant. Tonight we were talking about his approaching the personnel director to see if there are any courses that he could take at night school that they wuld find useful for him to enter the plant with. We think he will be in the union after three months. A very good fellow—quite young and with no experience but very serious. Right now he is carrying a campaign with me to have Joe R bounced as YSA organizer and I cant help but feel that he is right. Jerry drops in for a couple of hours every day gives us a hand at various matters then disappears. Has met various people under various circumstances who appear to have real possibilities but it seems to me that the big problem is following up. Disappeared for a couple of days, seems that he just decided to go up to Borden—met several fellows who seem to him to be first rate—one in particular. Met a Yugoslav somewhere who appears to have a group around him. Havent followed this up. We had him give an educational a couple of weeks ago. On Evolution and Revolution which Alan pushed for. Very superficial with all kinds of formulas and stock phrases. But he certainly knows how to move around—and if we can follow him up. We are hoping that we can get him into some teamsters barn which seems highly possible after the New Year.

But I must answer Malcolm's lengthy letter

Warmest regards

Ross

January 6/61

Toronto LSA
81 Queen St. West
Toronto 1 - ONT.

Dear Comrades:

The Vancouver LSA has asked me to convey a comradely reprimand to you over the complete lack of information about what happened to the Christmas Cuba tour; and to request that someone be struck off to forward the information.

Comradely,

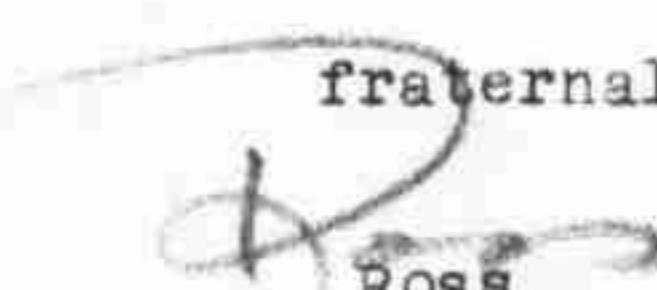


Ruth Bullock.

Dear Ruth;

No secrets ~~hand~~ and not concerned about jurisdiction but the Toronto LSA has nothing to do with the Christmas Cuba tour. It was arranged by Fair Play--the Montreal group. Toronto was informed about it via phone. Apparently everything was all set. A leading lawyer, active in Fair Play had made all arrangements. A few days before flight day a Montreal woman phoned Vern and told him she would like to book on the Toronto tour. When he told her that it was actually a Montreal tour coming into Toronto to pick up added passengers she told him that the Montreal tour had been cancelled. To this day I know nothing more than that they "couldn't get the plane." That is all the Toronto FPFCC organizer Bob knows. He is (in order to assess future responsibility) going to find out just where the ballux lies. Apparently as soon as this was known Bob and Vern wired everyone who had made a deposit or was known to be heading this way. Bob wired Nick --I suppose he had already left and the wire is lying there at his home. Should have wired the Vancouver chapter too of course. I have brought it to his attention and so the record is straight.

fraternally



Ross

EX 1953-1965 misc. corr&g
January 8, 1961

Kenora

Dear Frank;

Good to receive your note. Had been wanting to get your address so I could send you the paper. Big things happening these days particularly in the world Communist movement so important in France, Italy etc. Even the CP here is having troubles. The last issue of their youth paper New Advance devoted a full page to an attack on Trotskyism. The last issue of the Tribune under the name of their new national leader Leslie Morris contained an extensive attack on us. They thought they had buried everything in 1928--then again several other occasions but whole thing is being up again and on a scale that they are unable to squash it. The December 22nd issue of Peking Review contains the speech that the Chinese delegate to the Stockholm Peace Council. Its like reading Labor Challenge when we were discussing what the policy of the Peace Congress should be back in the late 40's. The struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism-imperialism, it reads. It openly attacks the concept that the peace movement should be a tail end of any power and that any big powers can take upon themselves to settle the affairs of the peoples of the world. We will probably be publishing excerpts in the next issue.

And who do you think I have been working with the last month or so? You will recall that you once referred to a fellow in Barrie who was a hotel owner and had been down to Cuba. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Isn't this fellow's name Jack Freedman? He is now living in Toronto. He is or at least has been a CPer. I met him through the Sobell Committee. Not too alert a man but strikes me as being an honest man. He is one of the sponsors of an aid to Cuba committee that the CP and UE have set up. Have had him down at the bookstore several times and he is reading our stuff.

Slip that NDP candidate who you say was around the LPP a copy of the paper. Yes, there are some genuine leftists in the Kenora area. After all it is an industrial community in which the railroads once played an important role. When I have a chance I will go through our subs and let you know who we know there. We have always done well with subscription work in the Kenora area.

Most significant NDP development is the quiet purge that they are carrying on against the left in the Toronto area. The brass are not conducting any broad and general activity. They are holding riding conventions, in some areas electoral machines are being constructed, absolutely no intellectual life. Quite a few of the boys are working in the Beaches riding where Bullock a more serious type of reformist is conceded a good chance. But all and all things are quiet---with the Royal York strike sliding slowly into oblivion. Wednesday might see a slight turn in event there though as we are trying to build up a token picket that UAW staff men are putting on into a mass picket. We will see.

I gather you got the books alright. And I hope that you know that the Shirer book is an expensive job--\$12 in fact. That makes your total outstanding \$24.15

Looks like Mitchell is going to have to work at last--they are putting the heat on him to take a job--and I must away to do those things I have out to have done

fraternally

Ross

January 27, 1961

Vancouver
Dear Comrade George; Brown

Thanks very much for the New Years greetings to the Vanguard. A big and timely help. We are not too far now from our yearly financial drive and so the barrel is getting rather low.

That was quite a coup with the Vanguard and the Hansen pamphlet on Cuba at the labor council meeting. The council down here is composed by and large of old (Van) trade unionists, catives of routine. We have done excellently. Pamphlet sales have been good here but largely through the store and a little campaign through which we tried to involve all comrades and their friends. I would suppose we have sold about 400 copies. And now we will have to get to work on the C.W Mills pocketbook on Cuba. We finally got 150 copies on last Monday and about 80 are gone.

Can't help but be confident that your wishes about the effects of the general strike in Belgium will come true. I see that the Charleroi-Lieges workers held out and then returned on the basis that they will be out again--when the govt tries to enforce their measures. Prior to World War II Charleroi was a Trotskyist stronghold. Of course we were cut to pieces by the Belgian bourgeoisie and Hitler's secret police but no doubt important threads remain.

Fraternally

Ross Downey

January 30, 1961

Dear Jerry and Ruth

Enclosed is the receipt for the money you sent in---a big help -- not far away from the fund drive so the barrel is low.

Sent the FWD's to Metro Leenty as you suggested.

Am working on the statement for the setting up of the national organization. We are getting ready to put out the second issue of FWD and on ~~Monday~~ Wednesday I am to speak to the Socialist Forum at the U of T. But hope to have the statement in your hands by the weekend.

Got you article on the forum--am putting it into the next issue as is. Very valuable. Will give it a good play

FPPCC well underway--Vern on TV again tonight--probably a national CBC program--so you might see it. Tomorrow night the executive meets to get moving on activities. This should put the blocks to the CP's attempts to take the name--McNaught is a national figure. Suggesting that committee contact Irvine in Edmonton and others. Have you got Listen Yankee out there. We only got it after a lot of pressure on Sinnott just one week ago. Have sold almost 150 in the week. Put an ad in the paper and get three people from it today already that we know of. Do you want us to get you some.

This committee is going to be a really big thing--suggested to Vern that will have to get an office and possibly hire a part time person. Can use the US FPPCC bulletin for a time but will have to have own material shortly. We won't be able to really move in until the public meeting--- about two to three weeks away.

Will write later at length. Enclosing Cliff's letter for information please return

fraternally


Ross

January 31, 1961

Dear Comrades;

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee has finally been launched here.

Enclosing a clipping from today's Star for your information and possible use.

We are not too clear just what has been done in respect to launching a committee there in Vancouver. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The committee here ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ could mail its regular material to select names and addresses in the Vancouver area. It could address special letters to certain key persons from the point of view of soliciting them to become sponsors and of course from the point of view of encouraging them to set up a local chapter.

Then again since many of us are well integrated in CCF circles and already have good connections with such persons as Cedric Cox we could just go ahead and get in on the ground floor. It would seem to me that a person like Rev Bullock would be a good sponsor and could reasonable approach with this clipping in hand the local Unitarian minister, Cox, Sam Jenkins, and others you know much better than anyone else.

Would you let us know whether things are such as to permit us to move forward with the connections we already have or if in anyway the Toronto committee should be used to get things moving.

fraternally

P. Kent

Sent & Recd
Harold
Jenks

Dear Harry- (Ring, SWP, New York) (Editor "Militant")
stark

in 1961 (Feb.)

I am pushing this item out. Needs to be gone over.
Longer than you wanted--but I think it is worthwhile. Do what
you think is necessary

Hope you got the three photos-- 1---Claude Jod in-
president of the CLC--seated by him is chairman of that session
Roger ~~Xxxmk~~ Prevost--president of the Quebec Federation of
Labor (CLC@ AFL-CIO)
2-- is a picoutre of the delegates-- massive assembly in Ottawa's
Lansdowne Park Hall, 3--- a table set up in ant antiroom of the
hall by the CUCND--an important factor in the youth movement--
both ~~Opposition~~ Douglas and Hazen Argue his contestant for the
leadership appeared during the nominating period on the platform
with the anti-nuclear arms button on their lapels.

Sending you two copies of this article--one by airmail
and the other by ordinary post. Hope it makes the deadline ok

fraternally

ROSS

81 Queen St. W
Toronto 1, Ont.
Feb 5, 1961

Dear Bert; Groves - Apt 401 - 6950 Fallding Ave - Montreal

Glad to hear that Hugh came across you at the presenting of the CLC brief. I have had in mind writing you for some weeks now but have been postponing doing so as I did not have your address.

A tough place to work that Montreal. Are you taking any language courses. It seems to me that you just have to know French to be effective. I would imagine many of the bookbinders are French speaking. Of course them family can live in one of those English speaking enclaves and not even now they are in one of the biggest French speaking areas in the world.

I would be very much interested in knowing your impressions of the labor council--the labor movement in general in Montreal and what gives with the new party. The press here almost ignores French Canada--both the labor press and the capitalist press. It would seem to me that the collapse of the Duplessis machine and the rise of the Liberals can bode nothing but good for the new party. Duplessis and the Union Nationale always made the idea of some all-inclusive coalition look good. Henri Gagnon, former LPP leader who we got to know at the time of Salsberg's withdrawal was strong for working along this direction. The 20th Congress hit the CP of Quebec very hard--Gagnon took the entire French Cdn core out with him. I doubt if you come across this group ,all working class, but not very cohesive. I dont know how much time you have but it might prove worthwhile to drop in on Gagnon sometime. He lives at 315 or 351 Laurier. It is in the phone book. He is a man of about 45-50. Very French Canadian speaks English well but conivneced that he is unable to express himself in English. Somewhat of a philosopher in his approach although he is a worker-an electircian by trade I think. He will be very happy to meet you. + do not know how his group has evolved. They did have a headquarters but I gather had to give it up--they also put out a bit of a bulletin. Their analysis of Buck and the CP of C was fairly accurate--they consider Buck a revisionist whose policy has nothinh in common with the marxists concepts of the class struggle. But they consider everything is fine in the CP's elsewhere and if I am not mistaken were making a bid to Khrushchev for recognition as the Canadian party of communists. They see no bureaucracy in the SUE--that is a privileged social strata. But They are prepared to work quite closely with us--we just dont have anyone in a position to work with them in the Montreal area. I never met many of his group --they invited me to speak to a large banquet that they held--everyone was there--a terrible night--some 100 to 150

if I remember correctly. But they are a very much French Canadian group. Some of them subscribe to the Vanguard and a couple told me that they liked it very much. There are some radical groups in and around the campuses-- George William College, McGill etc. About three years ago I participated in a debate with a well known professor who has made a life time of anti communism before a McGill socialist group. Right now there is a good anti-nuclear bomb group at ~~Sir George Williams~~ Sir George Williams college.

And how did you find the C Wright Mills book on Cuba? This Cuban development is the biggest thing for many a year. Probably you read of or heard over the various news radio or TV networks of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee organized here a week or so ago. We are helping in anyway we can to get this work underway. Here we have a revolution 90 miles off the coast of North America---a few air hours from Montreal...democratic...and ripping into the State departments hold over the entire Latin American peoples. I dont think you managed to get to the banquet we held here for Joe Hansen last fall shortly after his and Farrell Dobbs trip to Cuba.

Hansen wrote an excellent pamphlet--we are out of it right now as the demand has been great. And of course Dobbs made it a major point in his campaign for president to explain and defend the Cuban revolution. Possibly you read of Castro's favorable comments on the campaign and the good press in Bohemia--- we mentioned it in the Vanguard.

This committee now well underway with the sponsorship of Prof. Kenneth McNaught and Reverend Morgan of the First Unitarian congregation is ~~the~~ to our mind the most important political development for some years. Here we have a revolution which we must defend--about which there is considerable curiosity amongst Cdn workers and intellectuals. I would imagine that revolutionists could not possibly find a better vehicle to come in contact with other revolutionary types or persons likely to become so. The McNaught Sulphite workers West Coast will be a sponsor. Irvine, Alta CCF has been contacted along with Donenvan Swailes. Enquiries are starting to pour in. The continuations committee here is very good. Vern Olsen and Pat Mitchell you probably know., Garfinkle was active in the Rosenberg-Soble clemency committees--a lawyer who broke from the periphery with Solsberg, Dr Sipher Steel staff etc. Of course you probably know the American committee with whom the Cdn committee is working hand and glove has C Wright Mills I.F Stone, Jean Paul Sartre and a whole galaxy of top intellectuals on it. The committee is wide open but generally anti-Stalinist in a correct way. In some areas in the US I understand the CP moved in quite openly sabotaged the work of the central office. They will be holding a mass meeting here in Toronto shortly with a big name speaker from Chicago. McNaught's article in Saturday Night brought a flood of enquiries about the tour that the committee intends to arrange to Cuba. Hugh Garner, who writes a lot in Macleans-Liberty etc-Canada's short story writer says he wants to be in the first flight.

From McNaught's article which gave the address in the US so many enquiries from the Montreal area came in that they are sending up a representative who will have left there this Monday to come onto Toronto. If I had known sooner I would have given him your address. However.

No doubt you have read the vicious smear of the Cuban revolution being circulated by the WCFTU. The latest Ont CCF News has reproduced these refugee documents from the State Departments files and I understand the UAW paper has too. If you received the last Vanguard you will know that there is a great opposition to this stuff....Hamilton Labour council went on record

the CLC favoring sending delegations to find out the truth. The BC Federation did so a month or so ago but then the CLC put the cabosh on it..now the Prince Rupert Labor council has come out in protest and several locals in the BC area will be sending their own delegations.

When the committee first got underway, largely through the efforts of Vern it had modest aims. But now it has taken on a national character. And so the committee needs a national list of sponsors.

You would be performing a very valuable service Bert if you would join the committee and give the committee permission to use your name as a sponsor. We have no one in the Montreal area as yet. And your name which I know is highly respected in the Toronto area--a unionist ~~xx~~ and in the Montreal area would be a big boost to the committee.

no

McNaught ~~xx~~ a sponsor actually does ~~minimum~~ work of a concrete character. He is very busy as a professor of history at U of T with a regular column in Saturday Night and incidental participation in CCF-NEW party seminars. But his name has been a big help in overcoming many prejudices. All "organ" has done has opened all the doors of the Unitarian Church groups to the FPFCC speakers--all three in Toronto and now Oshawa and Hamilton. But that is quite terrific you will admit. The work of the committee here in Toronto is carried entirely by others. I dont know what is going to happen in other communities--for instance a professor at the University of Manitoba wrote in asking what he could do--and we are in touch with Swailes. ~~Rossini~~ No doubt connections will be made in Montreal but whether there will be a really functioning operating committee I do not know. And if there should depending on ~~your~~ ~~your~~ time at your disposal you may not be able to do more than give your name. But this would as you can see be a good help.

Would you send your agreement to be a sponsor along to the committee itself at

Fair Play for Cuba Committee
Box 923
Adelaide Street Post Office
Toronto

Dont mention me--just write you heard of it via the press radio or TV--it got good coverage--and state your willingness to aid in anyway you can--giving them permission to use your name. What is your official capacity I hope that it is impressive.

The branch here is the best that it has ever been. We now have a powerful caucus in the teamsters union--sending you under separate cover the first issue of a paper we are putting out. The next one is well underway. Have a very proletarian group now with all kinds of connections opening up.

fraternally

Feb 8, 1961

Dear Ruth;

(Yule) Vancouver

Re - FPPCC

Have sent you ten copies of Listen Yankee. We are doing very well through the store with this pamphlet. ... 250 so far. Surprised to hear one of the Sinnott News drivers say that it is not going at all elsewhere--only the Vanguard Bookstore. Routine sales elsewhere--he also told me that according to the contract with the various pocketbook outfits it rates a poor display position on the racks. The FPPCC is going to use it in a big way here. This is good for the part on the role of the CP will have a big impact on everyone--not the Trotskyists saying it article

Am picking up some copies of the McNaguth book as soon as I get this note polished off unless Pat Brain gets here and can go down to the Saturday Night offices. The FPPCC is using this too but we were unable to get a good price from them for bulk lots so not very extensively.

Read your outline of what was expected to come off the week-end while your letter was winging across the Prairies. Yes you are right a bad move could set back everything. It would seem to me that the persons you mention as the first to be approached are the best. .. particularly the Unitarian minister and the professors via Bob. It would seem to me that Ruth B would be excellent to make the key and first approaches-Steeves, Hewitt O'Neal, I think that you should lean heavily on the Toronto committee and the New York Committee. Does anyone get FairPlay? The latest issue reports that Pauling is right in there along with Mills, Sartre. The next day or so should see more sponsors on the Toronto committee. I spent the weekend writing Colin ~~xxxx~~ Cameron, William Irvine, Bert Groves now in Montreal and the editor of the Sask Commonwealth. Vern of course signed them. We concentrated on CCFers because it is possible that one of the executive here-Janet Campbell may withdraw and possibly with a bit of a public statement. This is on the QT. She told the Unitarian minister that she was investigating the committee. There hasn't been time to hear from any of them yet but we want to be in a position to counter anything she might do with some good names in the same milieu. The Ontario CCF News has published all that WCFTU stuff, that someone stole from the US State Department files. So the heat is on any trade unionist and orthodox CCFer

Of course these people would be sponsors--would give the committee front. What we also have to do is get a working committee to set up a local executive body composed of diverse persons who in their totality are acceptable to the sponsors and who give us connections and will get the actual work underway. McNaught has attended no executive meeting--Morgan only one. ..the first one. What Vern did was shape up a list of about 20 names of different persons we thought would be interested in doing something--they have constituted themselves as the executive. I suggested Garfinkle--he sort of represents an ex CP tendency and he has responded well. He met a few people at the Unitarian Church and they came. Joe Rosenthal invited himself. ~~invited~~ Vern invited Jim Gray, Harry Hatfield, a couple of people that he had met or heard of through his talking about Cuba--someone told him of this Dr Sipher. He pushed Pat. So you see we set up a committee of diverse types--no one could feel it was controlled by any particular group--persons who sort of represented different tendencies and who we felt in various ways were prepared to work. This committee also bears examination by the persons we are seeking to have as sponsors. know

I do not ~~xxx~~ how you see this coming about--when and the composition. But off hand it seems to me that we could go ahead with this aspect right now. I would think that out there we are in a position to get a more satisfactory committee than here. People from Stanley Park other CCF circles, from unions, the Unitarian minister could probably suggest someone from his flock

who would make a positive contribution to the work and would satisfy him that the committee was representative--are there any Garfinkles out there--what about that lawyer who handled the Sobell work out there and who has run for municipal office.. if I am not mistake he is in the same building as the store was on Hastings. Ruth should know all kinds that could be considered. The first meeting here was in the Unitarian Church--this is acceptable grounds for a lot of people. Pat was the only person we have sent--having done a certain amount of preliminary work with Vern and being somewhat aggressive she as a matter of fact got the post of membership secretary--everyone was agree able to Vern being chairman. I told Vern about a meeting of the student christian movement where they were talking about the revolution in latin America and Vern met a perfect supporter there--he stood on the executive and wont be a working member. The Student Christian movement on the campus may well turn up someone who is a Christian socialist who would be good for such an executive. So here we have an executive composed of persons who are going to do much of the work at the first stage but also is so composed that it is a representative body in anyone's eyes. Vern has played the key role here and his connections with the Unitarian Church and of course the American committee. Do we have anyone who can play Vern's role out there?

Of course you now have the fact of the Toronto committee. This committee could write you a letter suggesting how you should go about setting up an executive body. sort of authorizing one. I think that there is considerable merit in having a formal

correspondence with Vern--with the Toronto committee because it would be obvious to anyone that they are kosher--they have been approved by Professor McNaught, Rev Morgan and in a matter of a few days others too. This would allow you to make the easy transfer from the preliminary work that of necessity must be done by one or two towards a formal committee. What you number as step 3 is sort of the same as step two but lesser important persons...but even persons such as Jack Scott are not probable to do anything. "s I understand step 3 things are pretty well left to chance. Whereas I think that the working executive has to be planned--selected. What about Jerry Lebourdais?

Pat had the proof of the appeal for membership here Monday--probably it will be off the press today or tomorrow. Will certainly send you some. The temporary letter head will be off today also I would think.

McNaught mentioned the address of the NY Fairplay committee as arranging trips to Cuba for persons to see for themselves. Fairplay says that it was flooded with enquiries. So they have sent up their executive secretary to Montreal --expecting him here today. We may well have some good names for sponsors and also a working committee in Montreal shortly.

Things are not moving as well as they should here. Vern is quite a conservative man. But the next few days they will be breaking as there is much to do to get the mass meeting underway. The meeting will be February 19th at the Unitarian Church--I myself expect that they will get 600 or so. Of course everyone will join then, we will turn up some good material and things will move. This meeting will get good press and probably will be taped for circulation amongst interested persons. Pat is working on contact lists. Last branch meeting we allocated two persons to work in this area--John Darling and Pat Hendsbee

I hope that these comments are useful

Could use a report on the Feb 9 meeting--particularly if the referendum is raised, either in the resolution form which sounds very good or by the speaker. Hope those raps have good material on them. Had a meeting with Max a few weeks ago. Good as a prestige piece but nothing from the point of our writing a study of the working class movement here. Got a very good note from Ken Orchard. Looks to me like he has developed considerably.

Fraternally

February 8, 1961
81 Queen St W
Toronto 1, Ont.

Stan German
849—9th St
Brandon, Man

Dear Friend;

Gerry has been pressing me for sometime now to drop you a line in order to establish connections. I have been intending to do so from the word go but have been prevented by the pressure of other work until now.

We are very anxious to establish connections with the situation there in Brandon. On several occasions Gerry has told me of the good work you are doing in the unions. I am hoping in some way despite distances that we cannot co-ordinate our work to establish a class struggle leadership in the Canadian trade union movement, to promote a program that really comes to grips with the problems confronting the Canadian working class.

Here in Toronto where we have carried on work for a considerable time we have managed to make many connections in the various unions. The Socialist Educational League has a trade union caucus ~~which~~ through which it co-ordinates our work. I do not know whether Gerry sent you a copy of FWD which we were instrumental in putting out. Probably you read the results of the elections in local 938 Teamsters. FWD is going to be a continuing caucus. as is the paper. Members of the league are in auto steel, electrical(CLC and independent) pressmen's postal and several other unions besides a recent arrival--the unemployed union. Havent got anyone in hospital workers--Jerry is working in a hospital but is outside the jurisdiction. However we recently managed to make contact with a hospital worker through the store who might be encouraged to do something in the union which he tells me is pretty dead.

Our big effort right now is to get behind the new party movement. Gerry for instance is doing a big job on this. He has made contact with one of the new party organizers in the area he lives and has been swung right into the midst of everything. They are working on union leads but they are also doing door to door membership work. He is turning up some excellent types through the door to door work--I think he has signed on about 20 in two days. He has also made connections with some new party clubs of Ukrainians and Italians--all of whom are no doubt to the left of the CCF gang. In some shops we are doing new party membership work in the shop. Our objective is to build a factory new party club which will do consistent political work on a shop basis. The CCF brass are ~~now~~ opposing this--possibly they fear that ~~it~~ a new party club would become a left wing caucus and bloc against the trade union brass which they are linked to. The CCF leadership here in Toronto is sitting on the new party work. Gerry told me yesterday about a big blow up at the Ontario CCF office between the leadering activist in his area and the machine. It appears that they dont want new party clubs to be organized. They want the buck but they want them all pressed to pay up a CCF membership and to fit themselves into the old CCF constituency club formations. ~~such as the CCF party~~ But the CCF is dead and the new party is rolling. As many as possible of us are going to try to be delegates to the founding convention. The thing is going to be so big that it is going to be difficult for us to influence policy however we are in this for the long haul.

We would be interested to know what is doing in the new party work in Brandon--what the possibilities are of your being a delegate?

The other big development is the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Did you hear of it over the air or TV or read about it in the local press. The committee finally got off the ground a couple of weeks ago. The press release got national publicity. Several people in the Winnipeg area have written expressing their desire to help in the work. I see the latest issue of the UAW paper and the Ontario CCF News have launched a counter campaign through publication of vicious anti-Cuba material lifted straight from the US State Departments or Chamber of Commerce's files. What could be a bigger issue for radicals than the defence of the Cuban peoples right to make their revolution and the defence of the revolution itself against the threats of imperialist intervention. The trade union brass are circulating the union movement with this counter revolutionary propaganda and we must do all in our power to counteract it. Now that the committee is on the move we will be approaching CCF clubs in the Toronto area to invite speakers to tell their members

the truth about the cuban revolution and we will try to get into some union meetings although that wont be so easy. A terrific book has just come out that states the case to the workers of Canada and the US very well—Listen Yankee by C Wright Mills. Mills is a top American sociologist who unlike most of these scholars isn't afraid to move off the campus and deal with some of the most contentious and important issues of the day. Is this pocket book(.50) on the local drug store newsstands in the Brandon area? If you cant get it let us know and we will send you any number you can put to use at .40 each. I am enclosing in this note a couple of fair play for cuba committee interest sheets. The Fair Play newsletter is well worth the \$5 if you can afford it. Possibly you know some good types who they could be passed along to. We will be trying to pass resolutions at various local meetings and labor council meetings calling for delegations to go to Cuba—for credits and loans to Cuba to promote Cuban-Canadian trade. The last issue of the Vanguard reported the good work of our Prince Rupert and Hamilton contacts in this respect. The Fair Play committee will in all probability be arranging a tour to Cuba for anyone interested early this summer or late spring.

I have never heard from you what you think of the Vanguard--and how the bundle copies are received by the fellows. Always interested to hear what the field operators think--what they think can be done to make the paper more effective in our work. Anytime you have anything happening the Brandon area that you think would be of interest to our readers send it along--whether a written article or a few added comments to a newspaper clipping

A

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Feb 9, 1961

Bullock + late?
Horne?

Dear Ruth and Ruth;

Have two letters at hand asking our opinion of going ahead with a FPFCC almost entirely unionists.

I do not think that we should consolidate what we have on such a basis. I think that time is with us and that we can afford to work around a bit until we get the break that we ~~want~~ want.

For one thing the Toronto meeting is now only a little more than a week away and I feel fairly certain that we are going to get some good national publicity. Things are moving favorably. Had a long discussion here last night with Anne O outlining some of the things we should do for the meeting. We have just written the American Committ to see if they cannot get Linus Pauling to send us a wire of support that could be read to the meeting. Special letters are going out to

Donovan Swailes, Bill Irvine, Cameron ,etc. We are talking with Rabbi Feinberg, Vern was to have phoned a Montreal lawyer this afternoon ~~to~~ who was interviewd by a spokesman for the American committee who visite there last week with a view to getting him to go aracund to see the editor of Le Devoir(Larendeau) poet Irving Layton and a few others, A professor at St Michaels College has agreed to appear on the platform and someone high up in educational circlces here has signified his willingness to appear on the platform and say a few words. McNaught ~~has~~ got the last two or at least they got in touch with him. So names are coming forward and we have good reason to think that more are on the way.

That is why I think that you should make direct contact with the committee here. For instance a nice letter of an official character with our list of sponsors outlined on the edge encouraging, authorizing you to go out and see people and set up a committee in the Vancouver area would be a big help I think---would overcome some doubts. Why dont you write to Vern and tell him what you need---get a letter from him made to order. Now that we have the printed interest sheet you are in a better position-tonight if I am not mistkaen we will have the temporary letter head with the current list of sponsors.

You mention Bob Horne's good work amongst the professors. Have none of the professors agreed to act as sponsors ~~me~~ And Cox? But anyway I would think that we should really try to work the Toronto committee---as I say time is with us

Why not send the Toronto committee a list of the persons who you think could be approached with their addresses. The committee could mail them ~~all~~ all its standard literature which could help pave the way fr yo you. when you call, to get a more favorable reception. I dont like this type of stall ~~business~~ but I agree that the first moves are the important ones from the point of few of getting good front and launching it off into areas normally blocked to us but worthwhile ones. Of course using the developments at this end dont get us what we want then we have no laternative to pull together what we can

Sincerely

fraternally Ross

Ross

81 Queen St W
Toronto, Ont.
Feb 9, 1961

Ronnie Womerlott
237 N Elm Street
Colville, Washington

Dear friend;

Thank you for your enquiries a while back.

Under separate cover I have sent to you a copy of the last two issues of the Vanguard and a copy of a socialist youth paper published in England Called KEEP LEFT and a socialist weekly called THE NEWSLETTER also published in England. If you find them of value you will find the subscription rates outlined in the paper.

The only papers that we know of in this line coming from France Germany, Japan are in the language of those countries. If you read any of those languages we would be pleased to send you the addresses. The revolutionary socialist press so far has come out only occasionally in New Zealand and Australia which of course are English speaking. But there are no doubt labor party papers--the addresses could be obtained from any large library--they have indexes of them.

We have never written a history of our movement and the material of the socialist movement generally is inadequate. But there are a few books that you could pick up in any large library;

Third Force in Canada---McHenry
Agrarian Socialism --Lipsett
Trade Unions in Canada---Oman
History of Canadian Health---Custav Myers

There are a couple of periodicals that you might find of interest. The Saskatchewan CCF--a farmer-labor movement-published The Commonwealth in Regina, Sask, 1630 Quebec Street. The new party--a national labor-farmer party that will be launched this coming July is publishing a Newsletter from 301 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa 4, Ontario.

Glad to be of help.

fraternally
P. Kent

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53

VA031

V TNA010 89 NL=FD TORONTO ONT 14-

R BULLOCK=MENTIONED

354 W 16TH ST NORTH VAN BC

TOP MEETING THINKS DOCUMENT NOT WRITTEN FROM POSITIVE POSITION OF SUPPORT AND AS SOCIALIST WING OF NEW PARTY STOP
NOT EVEN MENTIONED TILL BOTTOM OF PAGE TWO STOP NOR WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF DISCUSSION AS IS NOW DEVELOPING STOP
WAR AND PEACE NOT SPECIFIC ON NATO AND NORAD STOP
APPROACH RE DISBANDING ARMED SERVICES NOT AS GOOD AS

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CANADIAN NATIONAL

J.R. WHITE, GENERAL MANAGER
TORONTO

TELEGRAPHS

STANDARD TIME

1961 FEB 15 AM 5 30

VA031 /2

CLEAR NO NUCLEAR ARMS ON CANADIAN SOIL FOR REFERENDUM
ELIMINATE MILITARY EXPENDITURES FOR HOUSES STOP HOW CAN
DOCUMENT EVADE SU STOP SUGGEST IF POSSIBLE SHOULD BE
WITHHELD FROM OUTSIDE CIRCULATION LETTER FOLLOWS=

=ROSS=

TEL No.

TO

CALLS LEFT

ATTEMPTS

FILE, WILL CALL, MAIL, DELIVER, DFX, TLX

SU...
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February 20, 1961

Vancouver

Dear Comrades;

In a letter dated Feb 6 comrade R enclosed two documents asking our reaction to them. The PC discussed them Feb 14 and immediately sent a night letter outlining some of our views. Comrade Strong was preparing a more extensive development of our views ~~but has had to~~ ^{undergo} treatment to his eyes and ~~now~~ he is now slated to go to hospital.

We do not know the circumstances leading up to the writing of these documents, nor do we know their purpose. We understand from Comrade R's letter that they are being discussed in the socialist caucus(?) in the Vancouver area and in our own ranks. Are they designed to be the program around which we hope, our forces hope to rally the socialist forces in the new party? We are supposing that this is their purpose in the following comments.

We feel that something quite the opposite to these documents is needed. ~~and maximum~~ To pull together those forces that now consider themselves socialist and who are supporting the new party requires a more positive identification with the new party and we would think preferable a much less detailed development of ideas which in our opinion are highly debatable in these forces as they are now constituted. It would also be advantageous that the document aside from serving to unite those who ~~are~~ already considerable themselves to be socialist would prove ~~most~~ useful in attracting ~~maximum~~ those who are beginning to move in the direction of class struggle politics to our side.

We think that we require something much more simple, ~~maximum~~ less analytical more positive.

First we require a clear, unequivocal statement of support of the new party. The key issues confronting the new party, that divide left from right, provide us ~~with~~ with the best hearing and express our Trotskyist views are; NATO & NORAD, nuclear arms on Canadian soil (unilateral disarmament), unemployment, the collapse of certain whole sections of the economy such as AVRO, Elliott Lake. ~~maximum~~ War and Unemployment. We want to appear in the new party with an anti-war program and a class struggle policy ~~to~~ to meet the problem of unemployment. ... to develop and apply our transitional program to the concrete situation. We also want to commit the party to a socialist objective--to the nationalization of the basic means of production.

What

What we must know, what we must understand ~~maximum~~ the whole theory behind the demands it seems to us is quite different from what it is necessary for us to say what the demands we must make actual read. We want to project into the new party ~~maximum~~ a program which deals with the issues of the day ~~and~~ which is an application of our theory to the issues of the day—and not big blobs of the theory itself. If we do the latter as we feel the two statements tend to do we are limiting our whole appeal to a relatively small handful of persons—in fact revolutionary Marxists who just by chance we had not heretofore had the good fortune to come across. We are on the verge of entering a mass movement. We want to be able to talk to the mass and to lead them towards acceptance of our ideas—in the process of conflict with the other tendencies in the party and with the capitalist class itself.

We think we need a general statement of the World Around us.—a couple of paragraphs against capitalism and against the Soviet bureaucracy. a few paragraphs on the needs ~~new~~ ^{imperialism} party

for a socialist Canada and a socialist world. Then the new party, the perspective it opens up--a workers and farmers government --a labor party -a class party. Then our views on the issues of the day--against NORAD NATO, withdrawal from them, unilateral disarmament, referendum on nuclear arms, support of the colonial peoples struggles-Cuba--the shorter work week.etc.our transitional program in factas we would develop it and apply it now--as we have been attempting to do in the paper.

We want to build up support around us in the new party on the basis of our positions on the issues of the day--on our class struggle program. We are not going to deprive anyone interested from full knowledge of the vast experiences that lie behind this ~~the~~ program but it would be false on our party if we made our Trotskyist theory the basis upon which the left is to be built. ..yes our Trotskyist theory in chunks written down a bit in more popular terminology but in chunks as the two documents present int.

We think that there are some important lessons along this line of our comments to be learned from the activity of our British comrades and also the material that we put out in both the Hastings Frontenac and Broadview federal election campaigns.

In the framework of these comments you will understand that it is not ~~unnecessary~~ necessary to go throught the document paragraph by paragraph and to suggest changes. As we see it it is not a matter of correction, amendment, but of writing a totally new document with a totally different approach.

fraternally

Kent

Kent.

Thursday Morn Feb 24/61

Ruth-Jerry

Bulk of copy in - not set yet - so have sent 100 copies
of old issue
Here is FWD

6 way lead to Referendum - your article
will cover BC anti labor drive from here
I see they (~~the~~ the brass) are going to fight right up
to the Supreme Court

Glad to get PT review of Cuba book - make their
attack on Hansen pamphlet in latest Cdn Tribune
big positive article on Cuba + CP - defending
Miles Huberman - Sweeny + ourselves

direct mail

Got statement of horsdale CCF on NP this morning
- including essence of it in a NP doing round up
column like Entl Notes x Can always use any
good little items on NP- CCP developments

F P FCC work here looks good from here
Am meeting with Vern tonight to discuss future
work here

Ross

One of the boys sold 40 copies of FWD in his shop
the day it came out

E4-196-RD-Van

Toronto
Feb 25 1961

Dear Comrade:

I am sending this letter to NC members in the Vancouver area with a copy to comrade Lloyd.

A few hours ago I received a letter from comrade Lloyd—a copy of one to P and Q.

It is obvious that comrade Lloyd is considerably disturbed about the progress of our FPFCC work which seemed to us to be developing so favorably--and it is obvious that on a problem in dispute she is unable to find the advice needed from the ranks of our movement in Vancouver. There is of course nothing at all wrong in writing comrades D and C for their opinion which we all highly respect. But it seems to me that matters of this character can easily be resolved within our own forces. In fact the letter from Lloyd to D and C is of such a last minute character that it would ~~unnecessarily~~ tend to ~~keep~~ far from aid in a resolution ~~which~~ merely act to throw weight behind some opinion that already exists in the branch. It would seem to us to tend to cause confusion and dissatisfaction.

I would think that it would be best in matters such as this where the branch decision ,if it took one , is still debateable in the minds of the organizer that the West Coast NC members come into the situation. In fact I am strongly in favor of the NC comrades there playing a stronger role. The city executive is not a representative body and should its authority be challenged by one or the other branch we have in the NC body a truly authoritative one. In fact I do not see any alternative if the branch discussion has been a full one, if it has been discussed on the city executive and the division is perchance along Branch one and Branch two lines.

The Vancouver KKK movement contains some very strong comrades--comrades who have had long experience in the movement, who have had considerable authority in other sections of the labor movement. From my own experience it is sometimes very difficult for comrades of this type to participate in the right spirit in the democratic process with comrades who have the same formal rights as they but who are very apparently lacking in all that these former comrades have behind them. With so many strong comrades in the given situation imminent the assimilation of new comrades and the maintenance of a correct Bolshevik atmosphere is a very sensitive problem. There is a distinct tendency for the old timers to in effect make decisions outside of the branch. There is danger of an atmosphere developing which is inimicable to the full participation of newer comrades. . . . an atmosphere where in effect the old timers blackmail the new or comrades

One of the big problems in Vancouver in my opinion is the fostering of a democratic atmosphere--the development of a Bolshevik discipline.

But for what they are worth here are a few of my opinions on the immediate problem that has been raised by Ruth's letter.

The problem of the Stalinists moving in and trying to take over is a very serious one. If we had let them do it here there is no doubt in my mind that the committee would have been sunk--or at the very least would not have got anywhere--would have ended up a CP-SEL affair with finally the CP squeezing us out and turning it into a husk.

From how I see things, on the basis of the information at hand we are in a perfect position to prevent any CP take over without packing the meeting with our own forces. The latter could result in just as unfavorable situation too--that it could become known as nothing but a Trotskyist front of some kind. This would seriously limit it of course, in fact render it incapable of functioning in line with our responsibility to the Cuban

revolution.

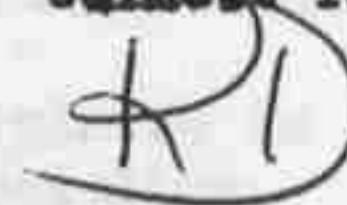
For this committee to be a success we have to assure certain forces--the professors for instance that it is not a CP or a Trotskyist front. Horne, Braaten and the artist(I forgot her name) assure anyone of this. To assure that the committee continues to have that assurance for everyone all they need do is constitute themselves as the committee and co-op who they want onto it...depending on who turns up at the meeting and who ~~much~~ we want on the committee and who is willing

Who says that there have to be elections at this meeting. Why would it be raised. Why cant these three sit up at the front of this meeting and report to those who turn up that we have done so and so--we have arranged to have Williams come to this city--we want the aid of everyone here to make this affair a success..we want anyone interested in ~~joining~~ joining the national FPFCC to sign a membership slip ,to give us five bucks . After this meeting, seeing who turns up, we can go about adding to these three--setting up a protom executive.of persons who assure that the committee ~~incomittee~~ cannot be labelled a CP front. Then after the big success of the Williams meeting we can call a much less selective meeting--in fact of all those who between now and then sign up as members. At ~~the~~ such a meeting we could ask for a formal vote of acceptance of this executive as the executive.

This February meeting called by Horne,artist and Braaten doesn't need to be the organizing of the Vancouver chapter meeting at all--~~incomittee~~. I am sure we can handle this meeting the way we want--for I assure that the artist and Braaten know the importance of not letting the committee there be marked by a Stalinist take-over. The CPers should they come are going to be on good behaviour. After all we have the connections and have a project underway that they cannot get around. No one there is a member of the committee so how could they very well talk about elections etc etc. noone there other than these three being members to my knowledge---Braaten has sent in his membership to the national FPFCC office here. The committee needs only say what it intends to do--the purpose of the committee--its national set up, the plans underway in Vancouver etc, the help we need from the audience etc.

There have been comrades assigned to this work--Good then let the comrades there give them the authority to proceed. Give them advise, tell them how to operate But by all means having done this let them proceed. Let them know that they have the confidence and support of the branch. And after we make a formal decision as to how we are going to conduct ourselves then by all means have all comrades operate within this framework--with the branch telling the comrades--and that goes for all comrades just what they are going to do --whether they are going to attend or not.

warmest regards

A handwritten signature consisting of a stylized 'R' and 'D' enclosed within a circle.

Ross Dawson

Feb 27, 1961

Dear Joe; (Hansen) SWP

One of the comrades told me that she sent you a set of reproductions of two articles from the CP press here ~~in~~. I am enclosing a couple of extra copies of one of them--we are a little delayed on the other.

The latest issue of the Vanguard which should be off the press tomorrow contains a lengthy article on these two items. In my opinion it is little effort of the Stalinist lie machine should get wide publicity. It truly discredits the CP press here if they still have much credit in the eyes of friends of the Cuban revolution.

Our article doesn't trouble to take up the distortion job done on your pamphlet but answers the machine through a defence of the Mills book first and the Huberman-Sweezy book second. It seems to me that the handling of your pamphlet is particularly ineffectual.

We are going to see to it that the Fair Play activists are familiar with these latest CP efforts. It would seem to me that they would be interested in Cuba too.

fraternally

Ross

March 1, 1961

Dear Ruth and Jerry:

Come on ~~out~~ in. We could certainly put your many abilities to good use.

You know we have troubles here from the point of view of personnel and many opportunities and responsibilities that we are just not meeting.

I didn't take up your letter of a month or so ago for about the time that I was going to I either got another or saw one addressed to Pat that suggested that you Ruth were coming here and possibly returning after a short period to Vancouver.

This morning's mail brought a letter from Comrade Winnie--full of all kinds of grievances against Jerry--I see you have been objecting to that 10 o'clock closing time among other things. It requests that I recommend your transfer--"I feel sure he is needed for urgent party work in Branch 1 and it is his duty to transfer." So you see Branch one has many uses we never suspected

I do not see that it is very important that Jerry stay on until the fall--or that Ernie, he and others take the provincial tour. What with the worsening of personal relations the tour would if it came off be somewhat difficult. Havent had a chance to seriously talk to Ernie about his going out there. Right now he is in the hospital with his eyes again. Possibly today they will operate on one of them and I have no idea how long he would be recuperating. As a matter of fact once when ~~sixty~~ ^{sixty} minutes he was talking of going out there he mentioned his eyes and commented that possibly he should not get too far away from this clinic here which possibly you know has one of the few authorities on this disease, Eel's disease. Off hand I would say that the provincial tour is off so I can see no reason for Jerry to stay on until the fall when really things would be opening up again.

Everyone here will be happy to have you back with us—as you know. Will anyone object to your pulling out from that end.—and on what basis? I do not see that the work that you two are immediately involved in makes it crucial from the life of the movement that you stay on. Sad to say from how it looks from here there will be a sort of sigh of relief—~~REGARDLESS OF CONSIDERATION OF THE EXTENT OF EXPENDITURE~~. There will be some regret too of course for they know that your leaving will be a loss from the point of view of activity and from the point of view of ideas.

As far as the comrades on the NO- Of course it would have been fine if things had worked out as we had all hoped. There is no question that Vancouver is important and that we have something very valuable out there which we must aid and encourage. However we all knew that it was a tough nut. I do not see why any one or any two comrades should be required to take this job on. There is no question that you worked on it and hard too. Yes comrades have to be useful to the party, to serve it but there have to be conditions favorable to that—or at least the perspective of favorable conditions. It is hard to see the way ahead for Vancouver. I am sure everyone including the hardest Bolshevik of them all Pat Brain *fully agrees*

So come on on in. I hope that the parting will be harmonious--the end of this month eh. When you announce this I would think that this will permit us to just file Winnie's letter away.

~~Variety regards~~

Boggs

March 11, 1961

Dear Cliff;

When I get home tonight I will pick up my copy of the Ryerson book you refer to and mail it off to you. I have not yet finished it. Did you not know that I am a bit of a specialist on Cdn history. For some time now I have been intending to write extensively on this ---in fact when we had a twice monthly and the room we used to carry the odd article which tied in with current developments. Sometime you should go through the bound Labor Challenges---articles on 1837 rebellion—the 1919 Winnipeg strike—How King took the Cdn people to war to name a few. I have not yet finished the book but I will send it on as I would imagine it may be immediately useful to you. Actually not a very good book---and it really carried the current anti-American line. goes out of his way to dispute a recent work by a U of T professor on the movements of political protest up to the 1837 rebellion to make out that the revolutionary aspirations of the English colonies struck no responsive cord amongst the French here in Canada—I leaped a head to scan his comments on the 1812 war—his version is truly fantastic—did you know that Brock couldn't find any Canadians to defend the country from the American invaders—but not according to Ryerson. But aside from this which of course is a crucial question the whole thing is dry as dust, academic---written more from the point of proving some basic Marxist tenets than vigorously applying the Marxist method. It would seem to me that it is designed for sales in the Soviet Union. Truly pitiful book compared to Ward's writings on the US which have been published from time to time in the FI. But having said this—there is little else available or note so the book actually is valuable—it has pulled together a lot of useful material. When you are done with it—and if that is before your return by a month or so mail it back. I intend to write a review-article on this book when I have the opportunity.

Ruth and Jerry will be back shortly—Ruth by the end of this month. . .Jerry a few weeks later after he has cleared up their affairs there. Unfortunate but Jerry leaves after having cancelled out much of the very good work that he did there. One thing he did settle and that is the deep entry tendency of our comrades there which has so long paralyzed our maneuverability and growth—and of course he has done a very good job with the paper and literature generally. But in the last few months he would appear to have pretty well written everyone off --at any rate he has taken practically everyone on and done a job on them to such an extent that he has alienated practically every comrade in the branch and they are happy to see him go. You know what a bull ~~shag~~ dog he is—when he gets any idea into his head and no matter its relative importance . He had planned a BC tour—possibly one of us going out to help them along with Jerry but it would appear that that is off now. FPFCC is now going along well in Vancouver too. Bob Horne is doing a fine job—he is in the branch although I don't think Ken is for all the progress his letter seems to reveal. A hell of a lot of bickering and arguing about every detail and move, almost paralyzing the entire branch there but it seems to be well on its way. First public action will be that great Negro militant Williams speaking.

We have done well so far with FPFCC here but it needs to be opened up. I am pressing them to get moving with a Toronto chapter meeting and set up so we can make some real contacts. Doubt that any of us will be going to Cuba for a while—devilish expensive and many difficulties. The Montreal-Havan flight hasn't been set up yet. The New York-Havana flight has been cut down to one a week and we now hear that the US authorities require everyone to sign three statements

yet

the actual character of which we do not know. The Toronto committee actually has little to do with this special FPFCC Easter affair. Somewhat arrogantly the NY committee proceeded. Difficult for the Toronto committee to proceed until we know what the three documents are—can't have people arrange their holidays and then arrive at NY to have the whole thing blown up. Turns ~~out~~ out not to be an Easter affair as there are only Sunday flights—7 days instead of the 10. I was hoping to go by Habana airfreight and had a long talk with the tourist fellow here but no dice. ~~Mk~~ Tours might be arranged via Nassau or Jamaica. In fact I have convinced a school teacher who is an excellent type and I have got to know from the store to go via Jamaica this Easter. The committee here certainly has to get some people into Cuba as it would provide us with some speakers and give the committee a lift. As for ourselves we are right now putting the heat on everyone with regards to our financial drive and we are all poor. You know for Canadians that tour stuff is very expensive.

Latest with FWD is our complete and absolute success in mobilizing the forces of the rank and file to route McDougall right down the line. All of our forces played an effective role at Sunday's meeting. The caucus forces got a terrific lift. The meeting we are holding with Kerry this Sunday should be well attended by teamster contacts. FWD held its caucus meeting last week in our hall some 35 turned out—couldn't get any other hall except at terrific expense. Should with any breaks at all recruit a few more. A couple of that earlier flood have drifted off to the side a bit—possibly we will lose them—but the others have improved considerably and given the branch a much needed maturity. Now we are waiting for Hoffa to move in. He paid Toronto a visit that Sunday but did not attend the Toronto local meeting.

Got the first draft of the statement for the new SEL-SIC off and in the mail last week and we will see how it goes down. Didn't type up enough to send you a copy. And now I want to get the paper out and so must tear myself away. I gather you got the money alright. And when is it that we are to have the pleasure of your company again? When is the school over and when will you be heading our way. Really anticipating your arrival

Affectionately

Robb

AH

JW

John Wilson
(PC member)

March 31, 1961

11,

Dear Reg;

Thanks for the five.for Bob Horne's membership. Thought my letter would have explained this move. This move of my sending in Bob's membership was to back up or at least make oossible the carrying of my suggestion that the three of them set themselves up as an ad hoc committee if you thought this would be a good tactic. I checked with the office here and foud that only Braaten was a member. Didn't feel I could take out one for our artist friend. The committee here with the agreement of everyone as far as I know is the national committee. I believe that NY is now turning over membershipsthat it has received to Toronto---if it is not it should and wi'l have to do so. For a period early in our work here we found considerable opposition to adopting the name FPFCC on the grounds that we had to have a Canadian committee here which was tuned to some undefined particular Cdn conditions etc. I assume that it is clear that the Vancouver chapter is part of the Canadian FPFCC Committee... and that membershipscome into the center office here. They of course need the membership fees to help f nance their work. Already they are having to look for an office--the one tht has been loaned to them is no longer adequate. I am looking forward to the first meeting of the Toronto chapter --so far the committee here has been tied up in national work. Salsberg joined the other day--so has Endicott

"ot getting any reports on FPFCC except the one that Ruth included wit her letter

Truly unfortunate in my opinion how things panned out there with Jerry I know that he went out with high anticipations of seriously helping in the work and staying for an extensive period. Ruth never wanted to go but went under pressure and for a period I thought that she would want to stay.

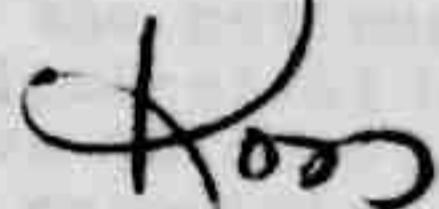
Ruth wrote me about herM returning--at first for possibly a two or three month stay here not necessarily for good--then a week or so raised the matt of both of them returning... and for good. She asked our opinion on the matter. I talked it over with the PC comrades and we could not see any basis for our instructing them to stay on. It is obvious that ~~XXXXXX~~ an impossible situation has developed. Not letters not only from leading comrades but from Winnie and from Larry too. Incidnely I also got a letter from ~~X~~ Fred accusin me of calling him a blackmailer. I dont understand this one,-has it something to do with my letter to the NC members and if so what has the letter to do with him or any of the members in the branch? At anyrate we just received a letter from Ruth tel ing us that she is returning almost immediately and Jerry a few weeks later after cleaning household matters up. Jerry hasn't written anything on the general siauton and I do not know just what there is to learn from the whole development-- sometime when passions ebb we should try to evaluate it.

Shocked to hear that Ruth B is in a state of nervous collpase.I hope her recovery is quick. Ruth gives me the impression that she is wirey but not too robust. Could she take a week or so rest over at Byron's for instn instance. I am sure that they would give her a fine welcome even though ..

I know there are some differences here. She will be a serious loss as Branch 2 organizer but it would seem to me that a couple of comrades could fill in for a short period.

Not at all clear on your last sentence--about an undeclared faction operating there.you dont mean in branch two do you? I know we still have the problem of Branch 1 and the six months almost gone. I would suppose that ~~Jerry~~ in the process ~~unanimously~~ of Jerry's disputes there was some kind of line-up. But what struck me from the sketchy picutre at hand was that whatever the fight was about Jerry seemed to have no support in Branch two---the little gestures from Branch one were to be expected. If with Jerry leaving there is still somekind of factional line-up-what is it based on--is it of any importance--will it continue to live? Dont get it. Thought the items that Jerry sent in for the last issue--on the SIC forum and the BC radiations meeting were very good. The SIC forum a real feather in our cap.

fraternally



Ross

Just got a phone call that
F.W.D took the general
membership + defeated
Mc Dougals actions.
Previous meeting - waiting
now to hear from Hoffa
who is in town. Understand

(Note re Teamsters Local 938 caucus -ed.)
(Toronto)

E4-1961-RD Van *AH JW*

ED

March 12, 1961

Dear Lillian; *(Whitney)*

Received your lengthy and interesting letter to the PC which we will be taking up at the next meeting along with the minutes of the West Coast NC meeting.

It is the latter that I am now writing you about for in the meantime you will have received the draft document and will probably be holding another meeting shortly ~~mm~~. I have gone through the minutes and I am wondering if it would not be in the best interest of establishing some harmony out there so that we can discuss the real problems confronting us without heat and as little factionalism as possible that you ~~mm~~consider rewriting the minutes.

For instance here is what you write about your and Jerry's opinion on the functioning of the NC members out there—"His position re the meetings was opposed by McPherson and Riley who counterposed the traditional established and international procedures of the collaborating Trotskyist leadership over many years." I think that comrades Douglas, Briar and Lloyd could justifiably take strong exception to such comment or presentation of your half of the discussion. I do not know how you argued aside from establishing what you considered is our tradition, what specific points you attempted to establish to explain why it is the tradition etc, etc. But what this type of report of a discussion does is establish that the others, are not Trotskyists at least in respect to this question.... and it is the secretary, one of the participants who is saying so.

It is obvious that there is a tense situation out there. While it is obvious that the fullest minutes possible would be desirable so that we could almost be thought to sit in on your discussion and thus get the fullest benefit of it, in such a situation I think it best that the minutes not become a question of dispute as to interpretation etc etc. The best way to assure this is to record motions and amendments and not argument. There is another way if you want to record argument and that is to draft up the minutes and get the agreement of those involved that the report is substantially a correct one then type them up for circulation and present for adoption. In the given situation I think that it is best that we do not leave ourselves open to charges of factionalism on such matters and that the minutes record the bare facts. Had this same discussion with Harold when he first sent in minutes of the city executive, perhaps you might talk this over with him.

Incidentally I have just received a lengthy letter that Munzer sent off to Pioneer Publishers, attention Kerry, Dobbs etc. asking them to consider publishing —an article by Cannon on Fractional Struggle and Party Leadership that appeared in the FI. It has many comments on the Canadian party, more specifically the Vancouver situation about the division in the branch etc. I do not understand why Munzer writes these letters to the American party with all this chatter about our problems—problems that our convention ~~mm~~took steps to resolve by adopting a political document by setting up a city executive etc. Is he seeking their intervention—he should know that they will not intervene—that they recognize the authority and the responsibility of the Canadian movement to solve its own problems. All his comments about the original sin of the split of the branch do not good and if made consistently a talking point in BC are the worst ~~mm~~thing we can do to hinder our efforts to overcome it.

fraternally

Ross

JW March 20, 1961

NC Memembers of West Coast

Dear Comrades;

This evening I picked up the folio form of the World Around Us and draft program that you sent us a few days ago. Upon receiving it I was surprised that we had gone forward with this document after the comments that we sent you. Upon picking it up I was wondering how we would handle it in this issue of the paper--thinking to myself that it was presenting us with some real problems. My first handling of the folio had led me to believe that it was the same as the original. I had heard nothing from you. In thinking how to handle it I reached for the original draft which I had studdied closely and marked up. But as accident would have it I picked up the folio, again noted comrade Brown's address and then happened to notea forward that had been written to it. Certainly a happy accident-for I note that it has been considerably changed--and the Vanguard would have indeed looked foolish if it had commented on the original draft--not only foolish but it would have jeopardized our lreatationship with those we are working with out there from a political point of view and from the point of view of integrity

foreword

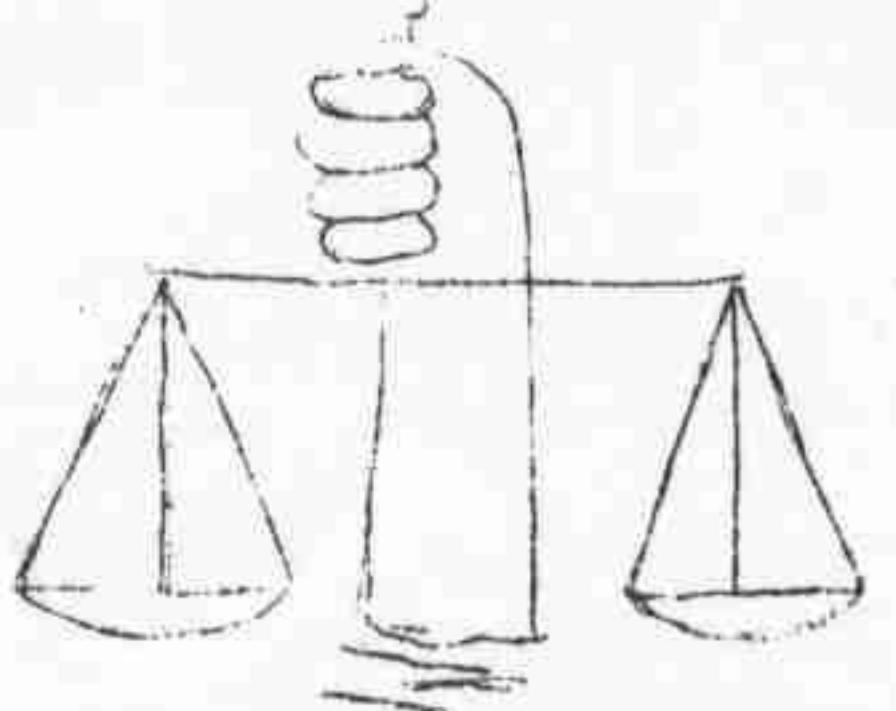
I have just hurried through the folio edition and have noted that the changes are considerable and by and large very good. This is excellent. But we now have another problem. It is presented in the name of "the New Party socialist caucus." page 6 But what is this socialist caucus? In the forward it talks of a series of meetings held in the greater Vancouver area . There is no mention of any specific clubs, no mention of the Socialist Information Center--no names or addresses--just comrade Browns

We have not yet received any comments on the draft program that we drew up to launch the national left wing caucusthrough the fusion of the SEL and the SIC. How do you propose to handle this now? Is the folio designed as a step to addit to the forces of the SIC-a preliminary educational action towards winning wider acceptance to the SEL-SIC statement? Or is it designed to set up a left wing caucus outside of the SIC but which the SIC would be a part of and which the SEL will make advances to.

We are confronted with some very serious tactical problems here. No doubt you have given some considerable thought to this matter. We would appreciate hearing from you on this immediately

fraternally

R. Dowson



FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

HEAR

ROBERT WILLIAMS

- President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Union County, North Carolina
- Founding Member of the American Fair Play for Cuba Committee
- Outstanding leader in the Southern lunch-counter integration movement

speak on

"THE CASE FOR
CUBA!"

HASTINGS AUDITORIUM

828 EAST HASTINGS STREET
VANCOUVER, B.C.

8:00 P.M.

WEDNESDAY - MARCH 22, 1961

Here is your opportunity to hear a first-hand account of what conditions are like in Cuba today. Arrangements for the meeting have been made by an ad hoc committee selected at a gathering of people interested in learning the truth about Cuba. Members are: Orville Braaten, Bob Horne, Lorne Eubson, Fred McNeill, Vera MacKenzie

? 

81 Queen St West
Toronto 1, Ont.
March 28, 1961

Vancouver

JW

Dear comrade Nick

(Shugab)

A pleasure to receive your snappy notes and the enclosed green stuff. From here it looks like the Vancouver fund drive--- Branch 2 anyway--is heading for the greatest success ever. Should have a boosting effect on Toronto and everywheres else.

Jerry arrived here yesterday or rather Sunday night quite late and I have already had the opportunity to talk over many incidental matters with him. ...including the drive out there. From what he tells me and from the very positive results I doubt that we have many ideas to pass along . But here goes anyway.

Nowhere in this country do we have many persons outside our movement who contribute to our fund drive but it seems to me that it is very necessary that we persistantly attempt to build up a periphery which will help to take the load off our back. To my knowledge all the money that Vancouver has kicked into the Vanguard has come from our own ranks. Yet there are a fair number of persons who read our paper, state they enjoy it and that they agree with it by and large. I think that it would be a very worthwhile project to make an effort to get money from them. For instance have we thought about approaching persons like Hugh Clifford, Margaret Erickson, Rodney Young. Bill Cannon, Jim McKenzie, Charlie Crate. I name a few that come to my mind to give you a picture of my thinking...I know that Crate is unemployed-and could give little or nothing. But it might be considered worthwhile approaching him to let hi know that we consider him a friend of ours with some obligation to us. He recently sent in his renewal with sample subs to a couple of persons. There are probably persons much closer to our movement whose atitutde could really be tested by approaching them for money. Maybe all these names are out--which would surprise me but there must be others that do fit the bill.

We have been doing this for years here in 'rono and while we do not pick up much from outside the branch--sometimes we use up more gas travelling around than we collect--we consider it important from a party building activity too. Of course we have one or two non party persons who give us big contributions--last Sunday one of my sisters gave us \$220.00. But we pick up a five spot here a couple of bucks there. Some of our sympathizers we are quite demanding of--after all we are doing the work which for various reasons though they approve they are not doing...then the least they can do is give us money so that those ready willing and able can get on with it

Toronto is also planning to hold a banquet which will close off the public Sunday night forums, celebrate May Day and wind up the financial drive. One of the youth comrades Jim Robertson will be coming in and we will utilize him as one of the speakers. I dont know whether you might consider such a project feasible or not. You might consider taking it up with Ruth. If you do I will try to tell you what we know about such things. Of course you have little time ahead

We have a few new comrades , a couple unemployed, and a couple with large families and low pay so hard up and the demonstration such as Jerry, Ruth R and others put on does not have much effect. They feel that they just cant contribute. Perhaps you have the same problem You might consider urging them to put aside say 1.00 a week or even just 50 cents. This will add to a fair sum by the time the drive closes.

I will get Alan to drawu p a letter over the weekend so that you can tell comrades there of the overall pro~~g~~ress. But right now Toronto stands at a little short of \$500 cash. Pledge-wise I think that it must not be far off \$1,000--so there is lots to do.

I hear that you are making arrangements to attend the SWP convention this summer---and will possibly arrange things so that you could stay for a week or so with us. A very good idea. We have lots of room. It would be a good experience for us all--look what it did for Ken Greive eh waht. And what is branch ~~Exximxone~~ going to do about the financial drive---have you heard--we havent. It might be a good idea to phone Harold --I believe he has always been the heaviest controbutor

fraternally

Ross Dowson

81 Queen St West
April 2, 1961

Dear Lillian; (Whitney)

It is some weeks now since I sent you a draft copy of the statement of policy for our national socialist ~~national~~ NP caucus. I am hoping to poish it up in the light of your criticisms for publication in the next week and hope you will send your copy in with your comments on the margin. Both Reg and Malcolm have sent theirs. Reg's criticisms are completely stylistic. Malcolm's ~~one~~ would say take a little of the steam out of the enthusiasm the document expresses for the NP development. We havent had a serious discussion on their suggested changes but off hand I think that they would all be acceptable. So you see we need your comments now to finish off the job.

This morning we made our first decisive move to build a branch in Oshawa. Alan went off to Oshawa to try to get on in General Motors which is rumoured to be hiring and if not in there anywhere else in Oshawa--from truck driver which he is qualified at--to pearl diver. As you know we have some good leads but they are buried in the local union situation there and we have concluded that we cannot get closer to them until we have someone right there johnny on the spot.

And how is the financial drive coming along with Branch one. Havent heard anything yet. It is going to be a bit of a struggle here in Toronto but I think if we revise our pledges a bit that we will make our objective. Nick is doing well in number two.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

April 2, 1961
81 Queen Street West
Toronto 1, Ont.

Gabriel Glazer
5850 Souart St
Montreal

(Wrong) Layton?

Dear Gab;

I was happy to receive your short note a month or so ago. And then a short while later to learn from Vernal Olsen that he had contacted you and that you are interested in the work of the Fair Play For Cuba Committee.

So things are starting to move again. I have been hoping to go to Montreal for sometime now --perhaps when I get to Ottawa for the new party convention I will be able to make the side-trip. Then again I am hoping to be able to go to Cuba within the next six months and Montreal would be on the way.

But in the meantime I am wondering if you would take it on yourself to drop us the odd clipping or line on developments in the Montreal area in and around the CCF and the new party. As you probably know from reading even the best of the dailies here you would scarcely be aware of Quebec's existence....and there is no CCF-New Party or labor press that makes up for this lack. The Democratic Socialist Society and its intention to prepare reports and draw up programs sounds very interesting. We would certainly appreciate receiving anything that it puts out along this line. I would gather that it intends to submit resolutions to the coming convention--we would like to hear about that too. We are hoping to make the column we initiated in the last issue and which we are carrying forward in the current issue just coming off the press AROUND THE NEW PARTY a valuable aid for all who want the party to adopt a socialist policy.

Dont hear a word from or about the Gagnon group. Has it disappeared. And how is Layton --I gather he hasn't been getting much on CBC of late--he hasn't dropped in on us for a long long time. I see he has another book of poetry coming out. Has the new party and Cuba stimulated these people at all. And what about the leftward shifting anti-nuclear committees? Saturday's demonstration here was quite impressive. About 2,000 turned up at the city hall despite the rotten weather--about 1,000 made the short march. Our signs calling for withdrawal from NORAD -NATO dominated the demonstration from reading the news paper reports. The three column Star photo of Rabbi Feinberg has as backdrop our sign calling for the break from NATO. The Globe and Mail gave considerable space to the selling campaigns for the Young Socialist--our "merican youth paper. We worked hard to popularize the referendum on nuclear arms but with no apparent success. I understand that there is considerable interest the idea of launching a petition campaign for the referendum amongst CUCND activists .

I am glad you thought about the Vanguard for the Democratic Socialist Society. Possibly some of them would like to see the International Socialist Review. The last issue was particularly interesting I thought---Hansen's appreciation of the Cuban revolution from the point of view of its significance for Marxist theory---and Warde's article on C.Wright Mills. Our English magazine Labor Review might interest them--recently there was a lengthy analysis of Rostow's non-Communist Manifesto. Do you get these or should I send you a sample copy.

fraternally

Ross

April 3, 1961

Dear Cliff;

Just a few lines to enclose some money that I am sure you could put to good use.

we

Sunday night made the big move to colonize Oshawa. Alan is down there now trying to get a job---Ed Reid said they were hiring but he turns out to be wrong---at GM that is. But Alan is a former truck driver and I hope is ready willing and able to be a pearl diver if necessary. For somehow we have been thinking that we really couldn't jell the work we have been doing there over the past period without a colonization. And now Jerry and Ruth are here to make it possible. Probably you have known that Alan doesn't really want to work the book store---that he took it on because it had to be done and what has to be done Alan is prepared to do. But this is really not satisfactory when it comes to a project of this type. I was thinking that you would leap at such a challenge as Oshawa--however you have had no trade union experience--none at all --not even through working with trade unionists in the party. This would be a terrible handicap in Oshawa where everything revolves around the UAW and where the trade union situation with its many fractions is extremely complicated. Alan doesn't have much trade union experience but he has some--and he has had more working class contact than you. Ed Reid has come along much closer to us in the past while and he has a few fellows around him who could be developed. I think the possibility of organizing a branch there is favorable and immediate tly so. When you arrive we might well consider your going there to give Alan a hand.

Everyone is working right now—including Joe and Pat—Pat at General Steelwares Only unemployed is Ernie who wont be for long and one of our teamsters. So it looks like we wont be carrying an all-Ontario sub drive and tour. At anyrate we neeed to do some serious work in Toronto this summer--sub-wise and street corner wise.

The Toronto nuclear disarmament walk and rally was a big success despite the driving rain and slush. We gave the whole thing a radical political coloration. Rabbi Feinberg is pictured addressing the 2,000 in front of the cenotaph with a back drop of one of our signs—BREAK FROM NORAD AND NATO. On the TV our sign quoting Argue of the new party calling for Cdn withdrawal from NATO appeared prominently. We weren't so lucky with our signs calling for a referendum. But I hear from John Riddell that one of the leaders of CUCND says that he will be promoting a petition for a referendum late this summer—we will see. The Globe and Mail article on the paprade I enclose . Sold 38 or 48 Young Socialists—the FPPCC sold about 10 copies. Right wingers like Lee were very much opposed to our signs but we pushed into the parade anyway and the rest of the marchers approved. We were the only ones who raised the political issue and directed the question to the unions and new party. The Stalinists just filtered in and carried the symbol for disarmament and the usual pacifist signs against fall-out etc. But from the New paper reports we made the issues.

But I must away. Started to browse through some precis that Alan brought here last year from his term at the school. Very good .The Kerry meeting was a great success--the hall was full even though Pauling was speaking at Massey Hall at the same time. Our distribution there was excellent--I had to distribute as our comrades didn't turn up--the papers interviewd me and we got good press as friends of the meeting and opponents of the various quasi fascist organizations that picketed it.

warmest regards Ross

Arpil 9, 1961

Dear Lillian;

Thanks for your letter of March 31

From your comments on the draft program which I have submitted to the NC I take it that I am to assume that you concur with it. Comrade Malcolm and Reg have both sent in their copies with suggested changes noted on the pages at the appropriate places. We will be meeting this week end to go over it. From my examiantion of the suggested changes they will in all probability be accepted....they are by and large literary. We ~~will~~ therefore will proceed to puslish the statement along with formal statements from the SEL and the SIC signed by the comrades agreed upon in the next issue of the paper

I see from the city executive minutes of March 29 that comrade Briar has submitted a draft statement and that on the motion of O'Connor that it has been referred to the Vancouver branches. I hope that this does not lead to delay. Would you see to it that it is handled with dispatch by the branch of which you are a member.

With regards to some other comments in this letter. Yes, as you say the hall and the SIC are under the control of the city exexutive. The city executive was set up by the convention with just such authority. The city executive was set up as an exectuvie with executive authority over the situation in Va couver subject to the NC-PC. Branch II has majority representation on it as the convention upheld the line of Branch II but the city executive is not the executive of Branch II at all. It is an executive body of the convention and therefore of Branch I also . If there is any confusion as to how we are proceeding I am confident that as a member of our party, of the NC with an understanding of the convention decision that you will assume the responsibility that is yours and help us to make the correct decisions within the framework of the convention policy.

I also have at hand your letter addressed to Alan of March 25. I think you gravely misunderstand Alan. I know of no one who is less given to strut and pose, to denigrate the other fellow, etc etc, I am not acquainted with the exact contents of his letter to you but I am familair with the circumstances and the matters that he dealt with.

Lilian it is not at all a matter of your project being a trouble fax being too small an effort for our time. On the contrary Alan and all of us want to help you in anyway that we can . It seems clear to me that the proposition of ordering through here , packaging and shipping to Vancouver is not a practical ons--from a business point of view. With Pioneer as you probably know we sell here at cost or close to it. By the time we pay postage, plus duty and now exchange---then if we reshipped to you it would be at a loss. As for general trade books. We do not have any capital--we therefore do not have any real stock of radical books that do not turn over--we cannot afford to. Any extensive order such as you might place of radical books would clean us out and until such time as we could restock harm the character of the bookstore. What is the merit of your filing orders through the TLBookstore when I take it that you could fill your orders direct through the trade saving handling by us at this end, saving mailing costs which we cannot absorb but which the bourgeoisie publishers often do? I take it that you still do have accounts with the various publishers? Now if you do not--then it is a different matter.

It is a business proposition Lillian---Alan thinks that it is not practical---not
from just from our point of view but from your own. But if you do not have accounts with
the trade since the store has been closed down and are not in a position to get a discount
why that is a totally different matter.... and we would be pleased to order for you.

It was with considerable humiliation that I read that portion of your letter to Alan
dealing with Bill's lengthy contribution to our movement. I am sorry that you for some
reason feel that it is necessary that this should be brought to a comrades attention.
..for you can be sure that the comrades know of Bill's wide experience and long service to
Trotskyism.

I think that the question of a large number of FWD's going to Vancouver is a simple one
Caucus' are outlawed by the constitution of the teamsters union. That is why only one name
has appeared on the editorial statement and that is why in the subscription box we made
it clear that the paper was open for subscriptions from teamsters who had membership
in Local 938. We are trying to protect our caucus. It was felt by Alan, myself and the
comrades in the teamsters that we do not want, cannot afford, to have a wide distrib-
ution of FWD outside of Local 938. Three or four copies is one matter but 100 or so
we feel is another.

I will be writing you in another few days about other matters.

comradely

Koss

EA-1961-RD-Van 2] ga JH.

April 13, 1961

Vancouver Branch One.

Dear Comrades

In its minutes of February 14th the Political Committee adopted a position upon the expiration of the six months operation of the city executive that both branch one and branch two should make an evaluation of the experience, draw a balance sheet and submit recommendations to the PC. These minutes were sent out to Comrade Riley who is a member of your branch and apparently came to the attention of the city executive.

We have not received a statement as we have requested from your branch and ask that you meet this request immediately.

We have received a copy of the minutes of the city executive of March 29 along with a statement submitted to it on behalf of your branch by comrade Whitney. We note in the statement several matters which we would like further clarification on.

You say that you break from the framework established by the January resolution. This action coming at the very moment that we are in discussion as to how to move forward in the direction of unity following 6 months of collaboration on the city executive makes us uneasy as to the seriousness of your proclaimed wishes to realize fusion of our forces there. But aside from this by what authority do you break from relations established by the city executive had even ~~been~~ freely agreed upon by your branch without protest to the PC?

The fact is that the city executive was struck off by the national convention of our party and granted executive authority with the majority going to comrades from Branch two to assure the implementation of the line adopted by that convention.

Further comments in comrade Whitney's statement suggest that you may even be considering breaking not just from the framework of the January resolution but from the city executive itself—established by our national convention. You propose through comrade O'Connor a meeting on April 1 of both branches for an immediate vote on unification. Such a proposition is at complete variance with the PC directive. It also has many of the characteristics of an ultimatum—a concept completely alien to Bolshevik tradition. Comrade Whitney's statement contains the proposition "that all liaison of a permanent character be dropped and leave us (Branch one) free to consider Branch 2 like we would any other left wing current in the BC movement."

Aside from the comment that implies that Branch 2 is just some kind of left wing current and not an integral part of the Canadian and world Trotskyist movement this proposition bypasses our request that you submit a balance sheet and recommendations to the Political Committee.

Kindly meet our request at once.

fraternally

Ross Dawson

Minutes of the Political Committee meeting for April 23rd. 1961.

Present: Strong; Kent; Bannon; Adair; McPherson. Secty: Strong.

Vancouver :

Discussion on communications received.

It was noted that Branch # 2 had submitted ^a proposal that the City Executive continue for another three months. It was decided to postpone discussion on this pending further proposals from Branch # 1.

Motion: Due to some questioning of the powers and terms of the the setting up of the City Executive, the P.C. finds it necessary at this time to reaffirm the convention decisions regarding the City Executive. This body was struck off as a continuing body; it was given executive authority; it was struck off to realize the unity of our forces in Vancouver i.e. unity in action and not necessarily the organic unity of our forces. It was not struck off with any suggestion of termination in six months. The decision was that at the end of six months we would review our experiences and in the light of this take the required action. Carried.

Motion: (a) The P.C. instructs Branch #1 to return to the City Executive resum^e all its obligations with participation in the hall, etc.

(b) The PC considers the proposals of Branch #1 on the future of the City Executive to be ultimatums and it reaffirms its request that Branch # 1 should submit its evaluation of the experiences i.e. to present some practical propositions that can allow us to discuss the question of our future course. .

Carried.

Motion: As comrade Riley has questioned the P.C.'s authority to intervene , now that the six month period has expired, in matters regarding the City Executive, the P.C. makes it plain that the

Minutes---2 April 23rd. 1961.

question of participation on that body and its operations are P.C.- N.C. matters since it was struck off by the convention. If Branch # 1 objects to any of the practices of the committee it should appeal to the P.C.- N.C. Carried.

Motion: The P.C. endorses the action of the City Executive in rejecting Branch # 1's ultimatum. Carried.

Motion: That the P.C. endorses and adopts completely the public statement announcing the fusion of the S.I.C. with the S.E.L. Carried.

Motion: That the statement be sent back to the City Executive for their adoption. Carried.

Motion: That the P.C. accepts the ~~recommendation~~ from Branch # 2 that Douglas and Lloyd be signatories of the statement for that branch. Carried.

Motion: That comrade ~~Graham~~ ^{Graham} sign the document on behalf of Branch # 1. Carried.

Motion: That comrade Graham attend the next City Executive meeting to discuss any literary and political changes after which the statement is to be returned to Toronto for publication.

Strong raised the question of his going to Vancouver.

Discussion. Motion: Due to the problems of shortage of personnel in Toronto the PC advises Strong to stay in Toronto. Carried.

Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Discussion on the problems of personnel on the committee. Referred to the Toronto branch executive for action.

Financial Drive.

Report from the Financial Drive Director. Situation in Toronto

notes---- 3

April 23rd, 1961.

is not ~~was~~ what was expected. Money is coming in very slow. Many of the comrades have not made any payments on their pledge. Director pointed out that Branch #1 has not contributed any money at this time and that he has written an emergency letter to the comrades there regarding this.

Cuba.

Motion: That we hold a special meeting of the P.C. to discuss the movement's policy in respect this question. Carried.

Meeting adjourned at 5.30 PM.

Toronto, Ont.
81 Queen Street West
May 1, 1961

John Edwards
135 Brant Ave
Brantford, Ontario

Dear Mr Edwards

Thanks for your letter of April 13. I am sorry to be so long delayed in replying.

I would really appreciate an opportunity to meet you. Your question is an interesting one and since Brantford is so close I will forgo any really detailed reply in anticipation that you will be able to come in here shortly. I am operating on the assumption that most Brantfordians have cars and you will be able to overcome the problem of the 50 miles or so that separates us.

Farrell Dobbs who I know well both personally and politically has forwarded me a note to the effect that you are interested in becoming a member of the SWP of which he is national secretary. No doubt he has done so through his sharing my opinion that one should join a political party in one's own country. You will note from the programmatic material that the SWP forwarded to you that they are strong partisans of a mass labor party formation in US political life. Fortunately we here in Canada are on the verge of forming such a party at the New Party Convention to be held in Ottawa late in July. I am confident that Mr Dobbs shares my opinion and the opinion of my co-thinkers in the Socialist Educational League that you and the persons gathered around you should as a first act join the New Party. The new party committee is encouraging the formation of new party clubs. All that is required is that 6 persons sign membership forms and forward them along with 6 dollars to the Ottawa office in order to apply for a charter. Once you have a charter you are entitled to send a delegate to the NP convention.

All of which brings me logically to the question you direct to me. The Vanguard is published by the Socialist Educational League. The League is an association of socialists who support the new party, who seek to become an integral part of it, participate in all its activities, including the shaping of its policies which they are convinced must be socialist and not reformist. No doubt you have noticed from the Vanguard if not from the daily press that there are wide differences of opinion in new party circles as to what the party's policy should be. While the last convention of the CCF came out for Canadian withdrawal from the NATO military alliance many of the CCF leadership are urging that the new party not adopt this policy. We of course support the official CCF position--and hope to be able to influence the new party forces in convention to adopt it. We would hope that any new party club that you might form would join with us and other socialists across the country to win the new party to a policy of nationalization of the basic industry in Canada so that we could introduce a planned economy organized to produce for use and not profit.

But I am anticipating meeting with you so that we can discuss many of the problems confronting Canadian socialists and of course the opportunities. Possibly your club could arrange a meeting which I could attend and address.

F. G. Kelly

Minutes of PC meeting May 8, 1961

Present-Strong, Kent, MacPherson, Bannon and Adair--absent Cotton

Minutes of previous meeting not immediately available-reading postponed.
Vancouver--letter from Comrade WH Branch 2. Suggests that we consider publishing
the program drawn up by the left caucus in the Vancouver area in the next issue
of the paper.

Kent pointed out that this draft program of the left is quite similar to the statement that we have drawn up announcing the fusion of the SEL-SIC which we intend publishing in the next issue. One would tend to undercut the other. There is little time before the founding convention of the NP and we will be publishing considerable material on the BC conference which we hope will take place should the right be successful in blocking a provincial convention. What with other material that must be published we would be required to handle this project through an insert which is quite an expense for us. Strong-Thinks it would be very valuable to publish this programmatic statement Even though ours would follow on this one's heels interest is high in newpart developments.

Motion by Strong-That we publish the left caucus statement in Vanguard Bannon question to what extent the WH letter reflected the views of the leading Vancouver comrades.

Motion by Bannon--that we table the Strong motion until we hear West Coast NC opinion—~~passed~~

Vancouver--letter from Comrade Riley NC member Vancouver to PC in response to decisions taken at last PC meeting.

It is the opinion of the PC that while comrade Riley urges reconsideration of the decisions made at the last PC meeting she suggests no propositions for the PC to consider but records a series of grievances --many of which do not even bear on the problem confronting us--which is how to continue a purposeful collaboration from the point of our program in the direction of solving organizational problems confronting us.

The secretary reiterated the decision of the national convention with regards to the city executive and its functioning;

The city executive was constituted by the convention as an executive body, which would co-ordinate the activities of the two branches and determine party policy in the Vancouver area. It was struck off by the convention as a continuing body. There was no time limit set on its life, six months or otherwise. It was decided however that at the end of six months, or at anytime before that should it be thought necessary, a balance sheet of the experience would be drawn in order to come to some decisions as to our work and future relations. While it was recognised that some comrades considered that organic unity was essential, the national convention took no decisions in this respect. The purpose of the city executive was specifically spelled out as an instrument to realize unity in action Such was the decision of the convention. The PC sees no need to suggest any modifications to this formula which is its responsibility to implement.

This decision flowed from the adoption by the national convention of the document The Labor Party and Our Immediate Tasks and the rejection of the Graham-Kiley document Some Questions that Have Been Raised in the Kent Document on the Labor Party. The convention overwhelmingly decided to setup an open national organization which will address itself to the new labor party as a legitimate organization of the socialist wing.

The PC does not and cannot recognize the situation to be that before the convention with regards to our work in Vancouver (see Riley page 4). In order to implement the contention decision which the minority agreed to loyally do required new forms and relations--an executive body of some type governing the work in the Vancouver area in line with the convention decision to set up an open organization.

The assumption by Branch one of joint responsibility with Branch 2 for the SIC hall and comrade Graham's identification with the SIC since the SIC following the convention became the joint activity of both one and two being the nascent form of the Vancouver body of the national open organization logically developed from the convention decision

The decision by the PC (endorsed by the NC except for comrade Riley) that Branch one return to the city executive is not based on any concept that the executive must continue as it stands. The PC neither condemns nor condones the conduct of the city executive over the past months not the role of either Branch one or Branch two on the city executive. Nor is it suggesting now that six months have passed and the review is in order that it should remain as it was constituted. The PC is ~~suspecting~~ that there be a continuing body in the Vancouver area with executive authority that will govern and lead the activities of the Trotskyists in the Vancouver area within the framework of our program and our convention decisions.

That is why the PC states that the demand presented by Branch one that there be a conference of all Vancouver members or it is withdrawing is an ultimatum and is completely unacceptable. That is why it finds the statement by Branch one that it is prepared to participate in united action with Branch two as it would with any other left current in the BC movement unsatisfactory and in violation of the convention decision and decision made to implement the convention decision. What branch one presents as proposals are not proposals at all because they are outside the framework of collaboration between Trotskyists who loyally abide by the decisions made at the last convention

Having discussed the letter from comrade Riley on behalf of Branch one the Political Committee reaffirms its decision which has been endorsed by the national committee that

1) Branch one return to the city executive, that it re-establish the collaboration that existed before its withdrawal, and that it present any proposals that it sees fit as to how to make this body a more effective instrument of our convention decision

Launching of national organization

Motion that we publish the programmatic statement along with the SEL and SIC statement in the coming, the next issue of the paper-passed. Motion that we accept the signatures of comrades Douglas and Ruth leading comrades in the Vancouver area and prominently identified with the SIC and with the left in the NP and the CCF--passed. Motion that we reaffirm our belief that comrade Graham is the most suitable person to sign the document but that it be made clear that if this were to jeopardize his employment that some other comrade who is almost as equally prominent and identifiable in radical circles should be suggested as a substitute at once--possibly comrade Riley.--passed.

Discussion of name---
The following names were suggested--

Socialist Workers League, Socialist Policy League, Socialist Policy Caucus
Socialist Policy Committee, League for Socialist Action, Socialist Action
League, Socialist Educational League, Socialist League, Socialist Labor
League.

General discussion; General agreement that it was inadvisable to call the organization an committee or caucus. Many of us wont be able to get into the new party in the foreseeable future and it is not desireable to appear only as a force inside the new party--it is desireable that our name give us some latitude to work outside the new party. Vote taken on basis of preference;

League for Socialist Action three first choice votes--Adair, Kent, Strong
Socialist Labor League three second choice votes--Bannon, Kent, Macpherson
Socialist Action League two second choice votes--Adair, Strong.
SWL-Bannon(1st) SL-Macpherson (1st)

Motion that national committee members be asked to cast their vote in order of choice on the above names and any other they care to submit at once.

Discussion on Cuba-- Motion that we endorse the SWP draft statement by Macpherson. Strong stated that he disagreed with the characterization of Cuba as a workers state and thought that it should be characterized as a deformed workers state. Stated that he preferred that we present a document of our own for discussion. Motion by Kent that Macpherson be struck off to write up a short document for presentation at the next PC meeting--passed.

Discussion on new party and the drive that has been launched against us. in the case of Strong, White, Price and O'Shea. Agreed that Price should challenge the right wing on the right to be a member of the SEL. Agreed that it looks like the White case would be the best to make a national issue of

Motion to adjourn

Several matters in the above minutes require almost immediate action. The decisions around the announcement of the national organization will have to be made by Monday May 22. Should we receive no instructions to the contrary the PC intends to proceed under its own advisement.

May 9, 1961

Minneapolis

Dear Joe

It was good to hear from you. By all means pay us a visit on your way back from the convention. There shouldn't be any trouble at all in arranging accomodation. Everybody will be happy to see you again and we will probably be taking bids. As for political work---it is not excluded that I will be in Cuba about then. My name is in and I think that the odds are not bad. If I dont go to Cuba I intend to go to the convention myself. Probably we will be holding street corner meetings about then. All the recent summers have seen Toronto pretty well stripped of its most active personnel for either a national or a Ontario tour but this year we intend to make up for some of our neglect of Toronto. I always enjoyed the street corner meetings that we held years ago and I think we will take a stab again. Of course you will have to be in good voice. If you can stay over a branch meeting I am sure everyone would like to hear a report on some phase of your recent experiences

Don't believe that fellow Kerry--he just told you the positive side. And as for Robertson he told you about the Toronto youth work before he got here and actually saw the situation with his own eyes. But we are doing some good work. Although nothing at all as sensational as your Free Play action. The best we could get was a 200 man picket at the consulate. Our committee is more sensational from the point of view of its broad influence I would say than from what we can mobilize here. As you must have noted from the Vanguard we have some big and quite respectable names on it. The Toronto Star devoted an edit to "correcting" the impression that it had created that Castro said there would be no more elections in CUBA by quoting one of our sponsors a professor who had monitored the actual speech--and of course Castro said there would be election in the future as soon as they had got what he called a socialist constitution into shape.

They are moving in on us around the new party--Ernie has been challenged, Pat B will be on the mat this week---and Hugh was refused a vote in a federal nomination meeting though he is the secretary of the DeHavilland PAC. Jerry Mc was telling me that he feels his days are numbered. There is a certain hysteria in the air---the right wing is deathly afraid. You see for all the talk there is really nothing around the new party actually--physically. Only in one or two ridings has there been any serious work in moving outside of the old CCF circles---and we have been a big factor in this motion outwards.

But this note was not started with the intention to fill you in with many developments but rather to express our anticipation of your visit ~~you~~ to us.

Warmest regards

Ross

LST launched

May 16, 1961

Dear Reg;

As you will have noted from the minutes we are going ahead with ~~minimimum six months program~~ the announcement of the new organization and the publication of the new program in the coming issue.

I have gone through the draft copy that you marked up and the one that Malcolm marked up and have incorporated nearly every change suggested. Aporeciate your literary corrections very much. ~~Me~~ Only now I am going to have to consult a grammarian and find out the use of which and that. Malcolm's were more contentious, many of them political generally modifying our commitment to the new party. We went through them together here, adopted some of these changes and not others. Some of the others we feel to be contrary to the document that we adopted at the convention, others not adviseable to make in a broad document for public circulation. All in all I feel confident that everyone will be satisfied.

We have made no changes of anykind on the SIC document.

Now we could do with a couple of photos. Since Malcolm and Ruth are signing we could do with photos of them suitable for newspaper reproduction. Could you get hold of them for us and ship them on just as soon as possible. We would like them here by Monday morning. Hope you can make this.

And could you phone Bill or Lillian ~~and~~ As you can see from the ~~minutes~~ minutes we are pressing them to come across. Hard to say whether they will or not but we could do with the photo of one or the other should they decide to do so.

Rushing to get this off--here is a copy of the leaflet that we have pushed out tonight

fraternally

Ross

May 17, 1961

(Dfks, SWP)

Dear Farrell;

It is with considerable hesitation that I raise this matter with you but there seems to be little alternative.

Fair Play up here is almost destitute of literature. I am informed by very responsible persons that they have orders in the New York office-in fact have had them in for months--but they are getting nothing.

After hearing the complaints from various sources over the past period and in the belief that persons known to us are a big factor in the New York office affairs I wrote a letter of the type that if I were to receive it I would make an immediate reply. Of course it was written over the name of one of the local officials. But unbelievable to me there has been no reply and no literature. I wonder if you could place a few enquiries. Of course there is no need to reply to this note.

Yesterday we received a note from Carvajal in the name of the Cuban section of the Fourth asking for our publications, news of developments. Here is a paragraph that may be of interest to you;

"In Cuba we are developing victoriously a Permanent Revolution, the objective conditions for the growth of our party are magnificent, but our party is reduced in men and resources so that we need to tighten our connections with all Trotskyists everywhere, to receive your co-operation and support since it is a question of the Stalinists, that although their political guardian has suffered a reverse with the socialist development of the Cuban revolution, they are gaining here rapidly bureaucratic administrative control in the middle and lower levels and some upper levels of the state and in the upper levels of the union apparatus. The reasons for this growing control are explained in Anatomy of a Revolution and because they capitalize on the important support of the USSR and other workers states to Cuba. As is logical the AP and the UP do not publish anything on the Trotskyists and Prensa Latina, controlled by the Stalinists almost never, except in very outstanding cases like those of the Young Socialists in USA."

fraternally

Koss D

June 11, 1961

Dear Ruth;

I would imagine that you have received the paper, read it over and got the bundles too. If you can use any more be sure to let us know very shortly as we will be putting them around. We are planning right now on mailing all the old subscribers in the West--BC, Alta, Sask and Man.

While I am trying to type this letter to you Joe Hendsbee is yelling in to me about what a fine type that Tom Clarke is--reported in the Vanguard to be on the trade union committee arranging a tour to CUBA. and urging that we should make a special effort to cultivate him.

But to go on----I would imagine that amongst the old subscribers of the Vanguard are the best of the present generation--the launching of the LSA might well give them a lift.

Hope you all liked the paper. All in all it seems to me to be quite impressive. Too bad we can't do the insert more often. One thing seriously lacking in this issue as in all recent ones----Around the NEW Party has no club material from BC. There must be all kinds of developments in the BC clubs that are good and important that we should be handling. Hope you can see to it that this material is siphoned into us. But nonetheless I think that it manages to present our views very well--quite roundedly. . .and should be useful for handing out to contacts for quite a while. Would be interested to know what the comrades think of it. Thought the programmatic statement read extremely well--with Reg's grammatical corrections I found it even inspiring. Too bad about the line on the bottom of the first column finding its place at the bottom the second column overleaf. Used the drawing we happened to have of Malcolm because the photos were hopelessly outdated. Mine was bad enough. Found the print shop had runied the only recent one we have of me. First opportunity I will be getting one of our photographer friends to take a new shot of me.

At the last branch meeting we decided to hold a public meeting on the launching of the LSA---to put ads in the paper, to hold it in another hall than our own and to utilize Ruth R and possibly Bob H if he arrives in time to give it a broader character. We all conclude that there is no possibility of getting anyone else on the platform. But possibly there are a few other things that could be done to hop the meeting up besides our making banners, playing the July 26 march that John Darling brought back with him. Why dont you ask Malcolm to send us a night letter--expressing his solidarity with the meeting--he can sign it in both your names. It would have good effect on the meeting.

We will be meeting tomorrow night to take up the latest missile from Branch I. I am enclosing a copy. When Ken G was down here last I gather that he felt that he struck a sensitive chord in Claire Dowsen. At anyrate he has been sending her the odd letter and just last week sent in several copies of a document apparently for circulation by her amongst the comrades. The document calls for a new convention to

cancel out the main decision of the last one and carries a very specific and clear liquidationist line. Needless to say Claire has turned them over to the PC. I am sending you a copy for your records. I see no reason at all why this should be circulated amongst the comrades, any of the comrades. The PC will be taking the whole matter of the action ~~itself~~ itself and the handling of it up tomorrow night. But here it is for your files. In fact I do not think that either of the enclosed documents should go further than the NC members in the Vancouver area.

Have you heard from Bob and Carson at all. We received a while file of newspaper clippings dealing with a very fine action that they carried out in the little town of Rockford. They decided to distribute some flar play for cuba material at the local u employment insurance office and the fat was in the fire. In the early stages they handled themselves excellently and must have truly awakened the sleepy town to the Cuba event civil rights etc. But the affair has gone far and in my opinion too far and I have written Bob that I think that he should try to extricate himself ---we are hoping they will come in here this week for the meeting.

Had a long letter from Angus taking exception to the previous article in the paper on the fight against Bill 42. You will recall that while we do not spell out what exactly should be done--we end the article with a statement of a boss about the strength and militancy of the labor ovement we do say that refusal to sign the affidavits is no real answer. To a large extent I think that it is a misunderstanding for of course we do think that refusal to sign and the federation taking a strong line urging refusal refusal is the correct line even though not adequate--whereas the federation took the opposite line--sign and we will make the oilworkers at test case. This issue as you note we take a straight line of support of the Pulp and Sulphite policy of not signing the affidavits.

Practically everyone will be off to the SWP convention next week. I have agreed to stay and handle the store since if Jerry goes Ruth too will be able to go along with their little girl. Have a strong contingent of teamsters attending--which will be very good for them. I suppose you have noticed that we are still recruiting in that area. This fall we will probably divide the branch as it seems to me that it is getting too unwieldy and shortly we will be unable to give attending ,proper attention to the work of the various comrades.

Dont forget to send us the night letter so that we have it say by Saturday for the Sunday meeting.

Hope the trip to the south was a beneficial one.

comradely

Ross

June 12, 1961

(DABs, SWP)

Dear Farrell;

I hope that you have received the list of visitors to the convention. It encompasses damn near everyone but myself. My not coming permits two others to attend--it releases J.H. and his wife who will both be able to attend as they can then take their small child. A heavy teamster delegation. I see they are doing it on the cheap. I hope that it is not a drain on the facilities there--that is the only way us low income Canadians can make it. You should be able to conscript some of them to the kitchen staff.

Had a full discussion on Cuba last Sunday. We have only one minor minority spokesman here and it is more a problem that pride stands in the way of his coming in off the limb that Tim got him onto--Ernie T.

Joe asked me in a note that I cannot find at this time about my going to Cuba. I am still hoping that this will come off but things dont look too good this way. Even now hardly a more than a month away from the time that had been proposed for the tour no official word has come through. And it is not from any lack of pressing. We have a most imposing list of persons who have signified their desire to go and if they bungle this tour up it will really be too bad. Persons who could be useful both here and in the US, big names in the coming labor party. Yet all we have heard is that the list will have to be seriously scaled down. But as time is going by I am wondering if it is even coming off. On the other hand a request has come through for a list of artists who might be interested. We have got to work on this too and have managed to round up 8 or 10 of the most important younger generation of painters etc--not so committed, but very honest and generally favorable. Is there anything to be done from that end that could assure that at least the first tour I refer to comes off? Time is against us. The committee is now being redbaited--the press carried lengthy reports on RCMP interest in the committee.

fraternally

Ross

Minutes of P.C. meeting June 14, 1961

Present--- Strong, Kent, Macpherson, Adair--absent Cotton, Bannon
Minutes of previous meeting read. Strong asked that the minutes be corrected to read not that he thought that Cuba should be characterized as a deformed workers state but that it would be more appropriate to characterize it in some such way rather than as a workers state lacking the organs of proletarian democracy. agreed.

Correspondence- Kent reported that he had ~~xxxxxxxx~~ received a wire from comrade Graham of Vancouver I refusing permission to use his name as a signee of the statement published in the name of the SIC-SEL. He also reported that Branch I suggested no substitute name if it thought it was advisable to use Graham's name, as the PC had requested.

Kent reported that as the name League for Socialist Action was given first choice vote by Douglas and Briar, making five all told, he had proceeded with this name. No correspondence from NC member Riley on this matter at all. Correspondence from Vancouver II organizer received to the effect that WH's proposition that we consider publication of the program drawn up by the left was not at all the opinion of the leading comrades there.

Letter from the executive committee of Branch I Vancouver read. Lengthy discussion. Noted that the comrades challenge the decision of the PC with regards to City Executive on the basis of their understanding of what transpired at the convention on this question. Their letter attempts to present what they recall of various persons comments on the function and nature of the city executive and records various other interpretations made ~~xxxxx~~ by individual comrades during various periods of the life of the city executive. With regards to the "C's instruction that Branch I return to the city executive the letter states that "we do not believe that the "C has the authority to make a motion contrary to the 1960 convention discussion." Kent reported that he has run off the tape of the convention proceedings, carefully noting this part of the convention proceedings. Comrade Paul is transcribing them. Kent reported that the record on this matter is crystal clear--in fact the very issues now being raised by Branch I as to whether the city executive was to have a life of only six months or whether at the end of six months there was to be a review, whether it had executive authority etc etc were thrashed out in the debate. ~~xxxxx~~ In the process of the controversy, through clarification by the chair, the mover of the motion and the summary speech immediately preceding the vote, the nature and function of the City executive is clearly defined. It is clear from the record that the interpretation of the "C is a correct one and that the instruction from the PC to Branch I is not at all contrary to the convention decision but is completely in harmony with the letter and the spirit of the convention decision. Motion that the minutes have attached to them the transcription of the convention proceedings related to this matter. agreed.

Motion that we reaffirm the PC decision which has the majority support of the NC that "Branch one return to the city executive, that it re-establish the collaboration that existed before its withdrawal, and that it present any proposals that it sees fit as to how to make this body a more effective instrument of our convention decision." passed unanimously.

Motion that we instruct the comrade who in the past has functioned as convenor of the city executive to convene a meeting of this body at some time suitable to the representative of Branch one sometime between now and the end of this month. passed unanimously.

Motion that we consider ~~xxxxxxxx~~ should branch one fail to comply to this decision that such an act would constitute a violation of the decision of the highest body of our party, the national convention, and a defiance of the authority of the national committee which has the responsibility between conventions of implementing the decisions of the convention and administer

ing the party's affairs and would make Branch one liable to suspension from the party--passed unanimously.

Motion that a copy of the minutes of the May 8th PC meeting and a copy of the minutes of this PC meeting be forwarded to Branch one secretary for information of the members of that branch along with a covering letter. passed unanimously.

Requested noted that we reconsider decision not to send strong to Vancouver. The PC is unacquainted with any reasons as to why it should reconsider this decision. Motion to table pending further clarification-passed. Kent circulated copies of a ~~document~~ turned over to him by Toronto branch member LeBlanc which she had received from Comrade Munzer Branch one Vancouver. Since the document is obviously addressed to our movement it would appear that Munzer anticipated that Leblanc would distribute it. The document urges a reassessment of the decisions made at last years convention with regards to our work in the new party suggesting that "It might be a good idea to liquidate our open organization completely...even liquidate our paper...consider turning the SFL and SIC halls into New Party halls"

Motion that comrade Munzer be informed that it is highly improper for him to circulate such a document in the manner that he did, that he be informed that all documents ~~on~~ on party matters must be submitted to the national office for circulation throughout the party.-passed unanimously. It is the opinion of the PC that there is no new ~~information~~ information in the Munzer document and that the line of this document is essentially the same as the Graham-Kiley document Some Questions that Have Been Raised in the Kent Document on the Labor Party which was fully discussed at the national convention and decisively rejected. It was also noted that we are now at the decisive moment in the implementation of the line adopted at the national convention. To open a discussion along the lines that the Munzer document advocates would paralyze the movement at a most critical time in the implementation of the key decision of the last national convention.

Motion that we do not circulate the Munzer document at this time--passed unanimously.

Subscription campaign- report that Toronto has a drive underway to increase the circulation of the paper--objective 250 subscribers. Motion that we consult Vancouver Branches one and two as to their ability to carry a campaign in that area so that we could make it a national project; that we suggest Branch one consider setting an objective of 100 and branch two the same.

Motion that comrade Macpherson be ~~selected~~ as our fraternal delegate to the southern affair this month-passed.

Motion that we hold the type of the insert in the June issue and Immer at following the convention in August that we prepare other material that could be added to this to make up a pamphlet-passed.

N.P.--discussion on expulsion of Ryce from new party and rumours of actions against Skoglund meeting adjourned---

June 15, 1961

Vancouver Branch I

Dear Comrades;

Since we wrote to your branch on April 13 with regards to our request of February 14th that you should draw a balance sheet ~~on~~ your experience on the city executive struck off by the national committee and submit recommendations, the political committee has been in extensive discussion on the problems confronting us in our work in Vancouver.

The PC at its last meeting had at hand a letter dated May 17 signed by comrades Graham, O'Connor and Lewis. Among other things this letter challenges our instruction reaffirmed by our May 8th meeting, that "Branch I return to the city executive, that it re-establish the collaboration that existed before its withdrawal, and that it present any proposals that it sees fit as to how to make this body a more effective instrument of our convention decision," as ^{being} outside our authority, being contrary to the 1960 convention ~~any~~^{any} decision.

Our discussion commenced as the city executive, struck off by the national convention, approached the six month of its operation. As the convention record clearly shows at the end of the six month experience we were to make an evaluation and to arrive at some decision as to how to proceed to implement the line of the convention--the decision to set up an ~~an~~ public national left wing new party caucus.--In the Vancouver area. While it was recognized that you did not agree with the decision to set up and open organization you pledged yourselves as a loyal minority to implement this decision.

In our February 14th letter we requested that you make a proposition as to how to continue. Branch II proposed that the life of the city executive be extended for three months substantially on the basis that it had existed before.

We note the ~~various~~ arguments in the May 17 letter from your executive which conclude with the statement that "certainly the majority of the Vancouver party membership oppose the proposition" put forward by Branch II. We do not know the truth of this evaluation and do not know what relevance such speculation has. This method of argument seems to us to be on par with the complex picture presented of the convention discussion in the previous paragraphs of the May 17 letter---with its recollections impressions and evaluations of what this ^{and} ~~or~~ that comrade is thought to have said.

Comrades, Branch II exists as a branch and governs itself by majority vote. This decision on the city executive came to us as a recommendation from the branch and was affirmed as such in the official minutes of the branch which were subsequently adopted by the branch. The position of the convention on the whole question of the city executive is recorded in the motion, in the rulings of the chair, in the summary speech of the mover and the formal vote. ~~which~~ The impressions that the letter expresses about alleged doubts held by comrades Darling, Strong or anyone else have nothing at all to do with what the actual decision was and the responsibilities of the Political committee in seeing that the decision is implemented.

The Political Committee, as it reports in the letter addressed to your branch on April 13 never received a statement from you as it requested. It did receive a copy of the minutes of the city executive of March 29 and a statement submitted to that meeting on behalf of your branch by Comrade Graham. This statement is now characterized in the Graham O'Connor-Lewis letter as a proposal with many reservations and as leaving the door open in many places.

But comrades it openly announced your break from the framework established by the January resolution--from the hall and from all joint committees established then. It announced your break from forms and commitments which were the obvious logic of the directive established by the national convention.

In our letter of April 13 we pointed out to you that Comrade O'Connors proposal of an immediate vote on unification was at complete variance with the directive from the PC of February 14th and expressed the fear that you were not only breaking from the framework of the January resolution but that you were breaking from the city executive itself.

Our fears proved correct for when we finally received the ~~minutes~~ of your branch meeting of March 30 we noted a motion, passed unanimously, that "we withdraw from all joint committees with branch II including the city executive." How then can you talk about leaving the door open in many places--comrades Graham-Lewis-O'Connor?

Since then comrade Graham has refused permission to use either his or Riley's name on the statement announcing formation of the League for Socialist Action--and comrade Riley has not participated in the decision

of determining the name of the open formation. And now Comrade Munzer of your branch has attempted to circulate outside the proper channels of the party a document which carries the general line of the Graham-Riley statement Some Questions that Have Been Raised in the Kent Document on the Labor Party which was fully discussed at the national convention and decisively rejected. This document which states that "it might be a good idea to liquidate our open organization completely...even liquidate our ~~newspaper~~ paper,...consider turning the SEL and SIC halls into new party halls"--would paralyze our forces at the most critical moment in the implementation of the key decision of the last national convention.

In the light of these developments we ask you comrades to draw up and to think just where you are going.

At its last meeting the Political Committee struck off by the convention with the support of the entire national committee except for Comrade Riley who has not acquainted us with her view decided to instruct your branch to return to the city executive, to re-establish the collaboration that existed before its withdrawal and present any proposals that you see fit as to how to make this body a more effective instrument of our convention decision." It is obvious that the city executive, ~~as~~ as the Graham-O'Connor-Lewis letter states has not worked out--we have noted that your branch felt trapped. But there is no way "to work within the same party" without working within the city executive or some modified form which is freely discussed and decided upon by branch two and by the political committee and the national committee.

The PC has instructed the comrade who in the past has functioned as the convenor of the city executive to convene a meeting of this body suitable to your representative sometime between now and the end of this month.

In a previous letter to the political committee comrade Riley underscored the many years of service to our movement that are contained in your ranks. We are confident therefore that you will respond to this problem in a serious manner and help us to overcome the difficulties that confront us in Vancouver by returning to the city ~~executive~~ and making it a more effective instrument for our ideas.

fraternally



Ross Dowson

We are enclosing copies of the May 8, June 14 political Committee minutes plus a copy of the Munzer document for your examination. The transcription of the tapes of the convention will follow in the next mail or so.



C.D. 1R

TELEGRAM

WORLD WIDE COMMUNICATIONS

"The filing time shown in the date line is LOCAL TIME at place of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at place of destination"
VRA 061 51 NL VIA FD VANCOUVER

NORTH BURNABY BC 16

1961 JUN 17 AM 2 21

LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION ATTN ROSS DOWSON SECRETARY
VANGUARD BOOK STORE
81 QUEEN ST W PHONE EM 6-1454 TOR 1668

GREETINGS TO YOU IN YOUR CELEBRATION OF THE LAUNCHING OF THE LEAGUE
FOR SOCIALIST ACTION AS A VEHICLE FOR SHARPENING AND EXTENDING
THE CLASS STRUGGLE. MUST ESTABLISH BRANCHES COAST TO COAST. IF
TORY JOHN A MACDONALD COULD MATERIALLY LINK BY RAIL FROM SEA TO SEA
SO SHALL WE WITH GREAT IDEAS

MALCOLM BRUCE AND RUTH BULLOCK

forward to

EXCLUSIVE CONNECTION WITH WESTERN UNION CABLE SERVICE



ANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

J.R. WHITE, GENERAL MANAGER
TORONTO

STANDARD TIME

1961 JUN 20 AM 5 15

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MVA071

V TNA037 13=PHONE SUBS=BY TORONTO ONT 20 746ANE=

=R BULLOCK=

354 WEST 16TH ST NORTH VANBC=

PHONED

:INFORM IMMEDIATELY OF YOUR AND LILLIAN VIEW ON CUBA

(STOP) MINORITY OR MAJORITY=

ROSS=.

708-7324

P.B.

RE 650a
SJR

CALLS LEFT

ARRIVED

FILE WILL CALL

AND ANSWER

Toronto
June 26, 1961

Kerry (swp)

Dear Tom;

A couple of friends of ours are coming into your town for the next weekend conference of PPPCC. They are the key national figures

I am dropping you this note to ask you to put away Sunday evening if you can to talk with them in some detail about the problems that confront us here. If possible I would prefer that you attempted to allocate some time for this rather than Shaw who will be busy with many details to give the problems proper attention.

This morning we had the first defections from the committee. We knew they were coming but thought we had a week or so grace before they got press. They involve two persons who would have least suspected would defect and their actions are a real danger to our work in new party areas. last night we had agreed to pull back on the sponsors to take pressure off them and to move towards strengthening the committee with our own forces so we could take it off the committee executive plane that it has remained so far and place it in the hands of the membership.

But you will be able to get a picture of the situation very quickly.

Will be dropping a line in a couple of days on the ISK

fraternally

Ross D

June 28, 1961
Toronto

To the SWP Political Committee
Dear Comrades;

I had originally intended to make a contribution to the convention discussion on the Political-Organizational Report until comrade Dobbs modified its terms of reference and caused me to decide that what I had to say could be equally well said in a letter.

With reference to the future of the International Socialist Review;

While you pick up the bill the ISR is not the property of the US movement but of the world movement. Comrade Cannon in his comments on the need to return to the 8 page Militant expressed its importance to the world movement not just as a model of revolutionary socialist journalism but as an aid to the correct orientation of our co-thinkers on the problems of the day. This statement is not only true of the Militant but even more so of the ISR. For instance there is just no other medium in which the just adopted international resolution can appear for circulation throughout the world movement. A supplement encompassed by material of passing interest would not at all be a suitable way of handling this material which will be of ~~maximum~~ reference value for years ahead.

Our experience here would lead me to believe that in the period ahead the ISR has the possibility of becoming self sustaining or at least closely approaching this. The Militant does not have the breadth of appeal that the ISR has. The former tends to be looked upon as the partisan view of the SWP while the latter competes for readership in a totally different area and with increasing more effectiveness. Our experience here is confirmed by the experiences of Milwaukee, Denver, and no doubt other points.

It is incumbent on anyone who argues that we cannot let the ISR go under even for a short period to suggest to your center ways and means to meet the financial problems involved. I have two propositions for your consideration;

1) launch a separate financial appeal, separate from any other, once a year, for contributions. I am confident that there are quite a few persons here in Canada ~~and~~ and elsewhere who are prepared to contribute to such an appeal.

2) set up an ISR sustainers club composed of persons who are prepared to commit themselves to contribute say \$25 a year to the ISR. Since we rely heavily on the ISR as our theoretical organ to supplement the Vanguard, and on the basis of its different appeal I feel that there are not an inconsiderable number of persons who would like to join this club. I would think that there is hardly a branch that is unacquainted with two or three persons who could be approached on this basis.

fraternally

P. Kent

June 30, 1961

SLL (British section of
Socialist Labour League) (Healy)

Vancouver
Dear Ruth; Bullock

I must look up that March 2nd letter that you refer to. I realize that our correspondence is not all that it should be but I had the impression that I had been at least taking up the most pressing and essential matters.

Of course we are not taking our vote at the SWP convention. All I wanted to know was your general thinking on the Cuban discussion as it has developed in the SWP and as it has developed in the SLL. No doubt you noticed the article in the Newsletter CUBA SI Humbug NO and Peirces astounding comments that of course we support the Cuban revolution and then the reference to Trotsky and his supporting such a bourgeois national dictator as Vargas against American imperialism. The SWP dispute is by no means an internal SWP dispute but a reflection in the SWP of tendencies that it is almost inevitable would develop within our movement and pressures that are generally prevalent on our movement. However be that as it may there was no thought at all of solving any such dispute in our own ranks ~~in~~ through the SWP debate or of marshalling our forces behind any tendencies in the SWP. Just a few days prior to my going to the SWP convention we received an advance copy of a minority document which raised the matter of the Cdn position---it contained a comment to the effect that nowhere in the world movement except perhaps for the Cdn section was there any tendency as uncritical of the Cuban revolution as the SWP. We have been discussing the Cuban revolution for well over a year in the Toronto branch and the lines are quite well drawn. Then of course the paper has been carry a very clear line. So I thought that it would be just as well ~~if~~ if I could get some information from the comrades if it were not too much trouble that I should have a picture of what the actual thinking out in Vancouver was. I had no intention of "using" this information but wanted, should the matter come up in anyway, to be in a better position than I was to give anyone interested a more accurate picture of our thinking.

Which Ruth brings me to a matter that I think to be of some importance. I was surprised to learn from Ruth R that she had read none of the SWP International bulletins over the past period and that I gather they are not regularly available to the comrades. At one time we sent a regular bundle out to Vancouver but you will recall what a mess literature accounts were and the cost just became prohibitive. Then we scaled it down to sending NC members copies. But when we decided to ask the south to send Malcolm a set of their IPC minutes which also includes automatically a copy of each bulletin I decided that you would be handling this matter yourselves. When Ruth first told me of this I wrote immediately to George Brown suggesting that he should handle this along with routine literature needs of the party. The SWP IB are an essential tool in the education of our comrades in my opinion. I try to estimate what the demand will be on the various bulletins and order from the form that they send out--cash in advance. Perhaps George could do it this way or maybe he would prefer taking firm orders cash in advance from the comrades at each occasion an IB comes out.

I note in your June 20 letter a reference to a discussion on SLL documents that are supposed to have been discussed in the Toronto branch before you West Coast NC members are aware of their existence. We got one copy of an SLL document direct, this document was circulated by the SWP very shortly after and therefore was available to the Toronto comrades in a matter of a few weeks--Malcolm would have got a copy as soon as the SWP put out our in

bulletin form and it could have been available for all Vancouver comrades at the same time that it was available to Toronto comrades. I am almost positive that we have never yet had a discussion on any SLL document here in the Toronto branch and we would certainly not have had a discussion prior to its being available to the branch in the SWP bulletin form. The Toronto comrades don't have any pipeline into the NC-PC. I am almost positive as I said that you are mistaken when you write "We learn from the minutes that Toronto had the SLL documents and was basing a discussion on them before we even knew of the existence of them--and quite wrong when you write "that this has been repeated more than once." In fact I would say that comrades in Toronto know less than comrades in Toronto about matters being taken up on the NC-PC for the minutes of the NC are never brought to the attention of the Toronto branch as I gather they are occasionally in Vancouver.

AH yes I must correct myself there was recently a case of some material coming before the Toronto branch even before it was in the hands of the PC-NC. Comrade Jerry Liang translated some material from Peng and it involved a couple of comrades in typing it etc---and he brought it up in one of the discussions that the branch held prior to many of the comrades attending the SWP convention.

Do you really think that we should go to the trouble to putting such material as the SLL statements on stencils for circulation through our forces. Yes, the SLL sends us only one copy. We get practically no internal material from the SLL but my impression is that they must have no broad internal life. We send them a copy of our PC-NC minutes but get nothing of this type from them no minutes, no internal bulletin, nothing for years but these last couple of items. The SWP published them --I don't see why we should ride in on their efforts along this line. No there are two items by Peng. We sent them the originals on Peng's behalf asking them to handle them in some way. They have now come out--not in an internal bulletin but a copy of each for the information of the SWP NC members--Malcolm received a copy that I take is readily available to any of the NC members there. I don't see why we should put it on stencils and circulate it on our own. This has not been made available to the Toronto comrades and they would not know of its existence but for Jerry L and I don't think that it matters

As for a Canadian document on Cuba. Of course we here have been assuming that everyone out there including the members of the branch has been following the SWP discussion and has read all of their material. Jerry's document would certainly have been written in that framework. Yes he was struck off a month or so to do this but for some reason did nothing on this up until the last PC meeting and he has since drawn up a short statement which we will handle in the next meeting. Yes we really should have handled this before. In fact our whole PC NC is sloppy. Everyonce in a while we decide to pull ourselves up. But we slip back. The fact is that we really don't have any intellectuals here in Toronto, center or no center. We have proletarian revolutionists--activists to whom writing doesn't come naturally and who are most at whomedding basic revolutionary socialist propaganda and on the occasion that presents itself agitation.

And there are many factors that combine to keep us this way. The breaks we have got recently have tended to strengthen this situation. These teamsters we have turned up want our help in how to conduct themselves as principled trade union militants. This type of growth has given the "party forces" more work, not spread the work around on more shoulders. We have no one who can edit FWD but myself--although one of the new teamsters is developing this way. The regular Friday night forum is not adequate for the teamsters

purposes and we are going to have to hold another series of classes more shaped to their purposes. Guess who is going to have to lead it.

The store---well Ruth is working two days a week--which means that Jerry has to turn over the store to me one full day. I also take it two evenings a week. Right now we are pressing comrades to get out at least one night a week for the sub drive and possibly two.

Believe me I would like very much to know how to solve this problem of leadership here so that we can pay much more attention to the national picture. You know the Trotsky school doesn't work miracles. Alan has developed into a good speaker and now is in Teamsters where once having his 30 days he will be able to play an important role--but he has had absolutely no trade union experience. Cliff has developed through his terms at the school but again he has had absolutely no experience in the working class movement. I say all this not to still your criticism which is generally valid but to give you a bit of a picture of the problems

I have read your lengthy paragraph on the latest wheelings and dealings with Branch one. Yes it is all bloody irritating. But I think that in general we are moving in the correct direction. Probably you are right about they way we turned it back to the city executive--yes the authority of the party itself is at stake here. So what are you doing. Are you delaying any action on the part of the city executive as suggested by the PC until we can take into account your opinion on this. I will certainly raise your objection at the coming meeting--probably this coming Thursday or Friday.

So far we have heard not a word from Branch one on all these developments. Got a long pedantic letter from Lillian over the request that was made about her opinion on Cuba instructing us about our relationship to the SWP--I see that they have not been getting the bulletins either. But nothing on anything else. Oh yes, the store address now has received a small bundle of the Munzer document. This time it is mimeographed with a short introduction which in passing states that the original job was not the work of Munzer but that the executive itself had circulated it. Despite its open liquidationist proposals they are presenting it as a contribution as to how to further our work presumably within the framework of the convention decision. I am hoping that the next mail will have some answers to our challenge to them. If not we will certainly take the disciplinary moves to settle the whole business.

Dont know anything about Jerry's request about a Radiation Hazards report. If Jerry asked Nick for one why doesn't Nick make the reply if he feels up to it and it's worthwhile. I dont see why Jerry and Nick shouldn't correspond as they see fit.

Up until recently we have been doing little in this area other than what the youth have been able to do in the high schools and university campus. There have been non membership organizations here---the sole activity has been a couple of public meetings. But with the petition they are now campaigning around, this movement has taken on a more organized form. Several of the comrades have been attending a few meetings and I gather have met some worthwhile types. Several of the comrades have been doing petition work. It looks like there might be something developing here, right now I understand the petition campaign has sagged a bit--they have decided to present the petition next fall --and now summer is here--so I don't myself think that there will be much until this next fall. But the big thing is that the movement is now taking on an organized rank and file character. Mostly Unitarian, pacifist, CCF elements

and the CPers are coming around.

Biggest development is around FPFCC. Developments that have been unfolding in the US have finally hit the Cdn scene. No doubt you have received copies of the clippings from the Toronto press and Vern's statement on the defection of Dewart and McNaught. When I was in the US I learned that the liberals who had been supporting the committee are pulling out or are attempting to keep the committee to what they call an American policy -- just opposition to US intervention--not support of the Cuban defence. For instance they object to the US picket lines popularizing Cuba Si-Yankee No. Since then investigators have been snooping around Fair Play both there and here--no doubt the press out there carried the story on this. So Dewart and McNaught have hot footed it out and in the process leaving the worst kind of stink. But even more interesting and ominous is the reaction of the executive here. Headed by some ex-CPers they have suggested that the committee should do whatever these two rats should ask of it. Of course Dewart wouldn't see the delegation that it struck off ~~xxxxxxxx~~. There has been increasing dissatisfaction with the executive here. In fact when Vern told me of the defection before it became public we had agreed that we would drop the list of sponsors from the letterhead in order to take the heat off them and that this fall we should consider holding elections of a new executive. Vern and Pat will be back any hour now from a national Fair Play conference they attended in New York and they will be able to give us a picture of things as they stand there. Well we are in for a little turmoil but we will come out of it here with a better rank and file movement which will be more attractive to the youth. This executive had pretty well played itself out--it got things underway but is no longer leading anywhere---and no doubt many of them will be searching for a way out.

On the question of how we look at the LSA here. I don't think that there is any disagreement here. We held the first meeting outside our own hall in the hope that it might attract a few persons in CCF circles and new party circles who would not be prepared to come to our own hall. I think that the statement of purpose is clear and unmistakable and that we should recruit on the basis of it...by so doing we would be recruiting to the Cdn section of the 4th. When you launch a group in a sense you are making a public appeal for membership---but that doesn't seem to me to present us as an open caucus--open to anyone and everyone--open only to persons who agree with our purpose and accept our general understanding of the situation

the following note

The other day we received in the mail tabbed onto a letter a form letter calling for some kind of contact with "Forces within the NP that are sympathetic to what in Britain has been called the New Left" signed by a centrist element in Montreal with whom we have been in contact for some years

"I applaud its formation(LSA). If it will lead to a broadening and strengthening of the NP left. However missing from the insert (he asked for another 24 copies) in the last issue was any reference to the how of the matter, how the LSA will "be built from coast to coast." Will there be a membership? or a common newspaper? The Workers Vanguard? A replacement would signify in my opinion that the Trotskyist socialists do not dominate this movement. What is your thinking on this matter. And that of the LSA?"

Think it over

As for Branch one. In my opinion they certainly are members of the LSA. and subject to its discipline--that is what we are going to have to thrash out with them.

But I must away

fraternally

Ross

June 30, 1961

Bull, Vancouver

JH

Dear Malcolm;

Received your lengthy comments on the situation re Branch one. We will be holding a PC meeting within a few days which will deal with them. I might add that I am substantially in agreement with them—and also add that so far we have received no communication from either Riley or Branch one on this situation. However we have received several copies of the Munzer document in mimeographed form no less with a pink cover and an introduction stating that it was first put out by the executive of Branch one prior to the announcement of the LSA and that in some way now is still a contribution to the discussion on our work.

Thought you might also like to have a smoke—I don't know what is involved exactly but I sent the word to Reg not that an alternate couldn't request or for that matter any comrade at all couldn't request the same information of Lilian.

I sent that wire at the last moment not at all to allow our fraternal delegate to commit our party in the SWP discussion. At the last moment I came across an advance copy of a minority document that raised the matter of the Cdn position. in passing. It was to the effect that there was no section of the world movement with the exception of the Cdn section that was as uncritical of the Cuban revolution as the SWP. Naturally enough our US co-thinkers are interested in what we are thinking about such matters so I thought that it would be well that the fraternal delegate should know aside from what the thinking was here in Toronto what it was in general out in Vancouver.

I think that the relations of the SWP to us and us to them have been scrupulously correct.... a relationship of non-interference, fraternity, collaboration. But be that as it may it is almost inevitable that differences within their ranks should leap over the border or should I say find their reflection in our ranks. The various forces at work from without and within our forces are substantially the same. Then of course we lean heavily on their very wide experience. It is impossible for us ~~now~~ with our scattered and as yet weak forces to conduct the full internal life that they can, if only from the technical point of view alone. (The last pre-convention discussion that they held saw at least 20 to 30 bulletins) As you have no doubt noticed the SLL tendency on the question of Cuba and building the world movement is reflected in the SWP in the Wohlforth tendency. These tendencies tend to find reflection in our own movement and would even if we were totally cut off from both the SLL and the SWP and left to our own resources.

At the last moment I and not Macpherson attended the southern gathering along with some 14 others from here. I had no occasion to speak on the international document or on the Cuba question for my own views were more than adequately expressed but you can be sure that all the comrades who were interested to know our thinking on these and many other matters which they obtained in the many personal discussions held in the three days sessions. You can be sure had I occasion to speak I would have made it plain whether I was on this or that occasion speaking as an individual or in the name of our forces.

Incidnetly I was surprised to learn from Ruth R that the SWP internal bulletins and the one that they publish as International Discussion bulletins (there were a couple with SLL material in them) are not getting wide circulation in the branch there. You are receiving them in sets and copies upon our request. We get a set here. They also send us an advance notice of any bulletins coming out and a list of their contents.

so that aside from our file of all SWP internal bulletins we order a substantial number of copies depending on what we estimate to be the interest of all the bulletins. All our comrades buy these bulletins at the branch meeting where they are displayed for sale. I think that these bulletins are a very important part in lifting the ideological level of our ranks. For years we sent modest bundles to Vancouver but unfortunately never received payment for them. When the division took place ~~in~~ in Vancouver and then when we arranged to have them send you a copy of everything I took for granted that these bulletins were being brought in direct and circulated. We have continued to send them out to all the more or less isolated comrades to whom I think they are essential. If I am not mistaken Jerry was bringing bundles in when he was out there and when I heard from Ruth that they were not ~~available~~ available I wrote to George Brown about this matter. I wonder if you would not raise this to the attention of the branch. The SWP NO would be pleased to send a copy of the advance notice of internal bulletins and if thought desirable only firmly committed money in advance orders could be taken.

I see from the May 26 minutes that George suggested that you should have a column in the Vanguard similar to Brian Peirce's in the Newsletter. I think that that is an excellent idea.....a Peirce type column with an all-Canadian twist..not so bookish as Peirces for unlike him you were there. Can you start with the next issue of the Vanguard, would if at all possible like the material in by Monday July 7. We also need in the worst way some material for our around the new party column from BC. I was terribly disappointed that we had nothing last issue for after all we are pulling teeth to get good material from the rest of the country. I take it that the BC convention has been quashed. What are the odds on holding a ~~rump~~ convention in BC. What good resolutions are being passed and if not passed being discussed in the various CCF-NP clubs. Got George's material on the SS meet just too late for last issue--received very rough but will fix up for this issue.

Couldn't afford the time but found the SWP convention as usual very stimulating. Even s in Cuba have indeed overwhelmed them inority's position and the discussion was anti-climactic. Missed the plenum held the day before but I gather that it was agreed that there would be a shift of the older youth comrades ~~mix~~ right into the party starting with Robertson and as things permit Wohlforth and Mage----the age limit will be 27 years. For the first time since the cold war there was an absolute though modest growth in membership. Some 300 turned up the last day of the convention. Everyone was impressed with our teamsters developments---they were a goodly part of our visiting team.

warmest regards

Ross

Updated July file

John Willyn?)
81 Queen Street West
Toronto 1, Ont.

Vancouver
George Brown;

Dear George

Received your fifteen dollars a couple of days ago....with thanks. As the comrades will no doubt have noticed--in order to clear the matter away and confident that your word is good the last issue of Vanguard treated the outstanding amount as already being in here.

As John commented in his circular letter the whole campaign is quite an achievement coming as it did on top of the last fall drive. So now we have managed to switch our yearly drive and without any loss at all.

There is a short comment in your last letter with regards to a few words in a recent radio or TV broadcast by Farrell Dobbs on nationalization and indemnification. In my opinion the question has to whether we pay off capitalist interests for the properties that we seize or do not is not a principled question but a tactical one. Of course we all agree that the working class are not at all required to ~~pay~~ pay for what is the fruit of their labor by any moral or ethical standard. I think that the specific situation and circumstances have to be examined. For instance with regards to AVRO and Elliott Lake it is obvious that no one could at all consider that it was necessary to pay off Dosco and usuch outfits as Rio Tinto. These plants we bought and paid for by the taxpayers and everyone knew this. But a short while ago the question came up here in Toronto of municipal ownership of the gas distribution services here. This privately owned corporation in a city where Hydro water and transportation is owned by the municipality is a very profitable one. We merely urged that the distribution should be carried out by the municipality at cost to the consumers. The case for this was very good and we could see no reason why we should add to the demand and thereby weaken and cut down the support for it by cutting across certain ignorant prejudices that many workers and middle class elements hold on this question.... that is attach onto it the demands that the present shareholders should lose their interests. You can imagine the type of campaign that capital could whip up against municipal ownership if we did so. It is possible that they could scare up a couple of old age pensioners whose sole supplement to their pension came from a miserable dividend. When this question came up--the question of payment--we urged that a committee of workers--unionists from the plant who know the workings of the plant should be struck off with the aid of engineers who are familiar with the latest methods of distribution be struck off the set the value of the plant.

I think that the Castro policy has been a correct one with regards to certain interest--foreign interests that he has taken over. The revolution needs the support of the American workers...it needs it badly for without it the revolution is in serious danger. So they take over the properties and hand them pieces of paper--estimate the value of the

on the basis of the assessments that Batiste cooked up with these imperialist owners--~~you know~~. They are worth five and ten times more but any complaints only condemn the owners in the eyes of world public opinion.

Now in England today, where the economy is quite enfeebled where the working class is powerful and has the support of a considerable section of the middle class who know that they would have to pay through the nose if indemnification is made to the capitalists + would say that we should oppose indemnification of any kind. In fact it is obvious to anyone one that the indemnification of the coal owners amounted to giving capital in England a new lease on life. They were able to transfer their capital from coal which had become bankrupt and move into new areas

Have you read Trotsky's little brochure If America Should Go Communist? It is sometime since I have read it but if I recall correctly Trotsky suggests that we ~~get~~ the victorious revolution, will give the handful of capitalists all their money. All we will do is take the means of production over. Let them have their cars, their massive accumulation of possessions. We will have the factories, the means to produce new wealth.

Hope these few comments are of use to you.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

July 16, 1961

Dear Ruth;

Just a note to let you know that we are now going to press with an article on the leadership struggle in the NP ~~and~~ expressing the viewpoint that we support Argue. I am dropping you this line as the July 7 minutes that just arrived note that "Our comrades were continuum in the committee having expressed their position along with the majority present that they were by no means committed to the support of Argue."

In ~~xxxxx~~ our opinion a policy of abstentionism is very seldom desireable and unjustified, in this case. It appears certain that there will only be Douglas or Argue to chose from. We support the new party with no terms as to who must be in the leadership. Whatever can be said as to his motivations Argue is taking a generally correct position of the big issues that confront the convention and that divide the left from the right. To my knowledge he has not picked up any of the anti-union crap. We have no basis for non support from what I can see. Of course if some one else entered the campaign it might well be different.

Suppose you saw Cameron's article in MacLeans----somewhat abstract but generally good in my opinion. It lacks in positive identification with the party leaving Douglas more open to attack than he should be. Should cause quite a storm

fraternally

Ross

This note is not to the branch but so that I can get a hurried response to the question of or supporting Argue if you think one is necessary

July 17, 1961

Dear Comrades;

The New Party convention is slated for Monday July 31 to Friday Augusst 4
We have been informed that comrades O'Connor and Graham will be attending
We also understand that comrade Winnie will be there.

Comrade O'Connor has informed us that he will be coming into Toronto following the convention. We have heard no word of Comrade Winnie's travelling plans. It may well be that due to arrangements that have been forced upon us as delegates ~~thunderkirk~~ and the time available that it will ~~imnot~~ be possible to arrange a get together in Toronto prior to the convention. However it is obviously adviseable that if it can possibly be arranged that we meet in Toronto prior to the convention.

There will be one delegate from here--and two others, one in the youth and another in a language group that we could very profitably arrange a meeting with prior to the convention.

Comrade Kent will be attending the convention for the press

We would like to know whether it is possible to arrange a Toronto meeting prior to the convention and under what conditions, just as soon as possible.

fraternally

Kent

July 19, 1961
Toronto

Dear Comrades;

last night marked an even more left bid for the new party leadership by Argue than ever before.

I am enclosing a report of the meeting that appeared in the local press.

On all the major, immediate, issues Argue took a good position-NATO, OAS. But you will note that he also gave a press interview before the meeting. In this interview he took up the challenge of socialism.

I do not know whether you follow the Saskatchewan Commonwealth. If you do you will be pleasantly surprised to note Johnson speech at the Alta convention attacking Douglas on the affluent society. The left, the remnants of the CCCF left are solidly behind Argue--he is making a conscious play for this support --in fact I would say that he is going even farther than would actually be necessary to win it.

We have no information of any kind ~~nor~~ even a hint that there will be another candidate. And if there were, if he were anything other than ourselves what could he say--how could he justify himself. Because Argue is going very very far.

In my opinion it is impossible not to support Argue. Unless you want to publicly question his motives, unless you want to delve into his record. It is interesting that on NATO he has characterized Clause 2 as having been a sop to naive idealists.

It is my opinion should we fail to support Argue implicitly -even explicitly we would be doing the right wing the greatest possible favor we could do them--we would be shoving ourselves off into a little corner mumbling incantations which no one even those who we must win to our movement and many others to sympathy and support of us, could understand. If we want to move forward with our ideas we have to move with the left current. In my opinion the left cannot fail but move with Argue at this juncture

Douglas has the support of the trade union brass. But Argue is not at all anti ~~union~~ union or without trade union support. In fact here last night he went out of his way to make identity with the interests of the union movement. I gather that you have information that next door to us in Hamilton that there is strong Argue support in Steel.

The biggest danger in my opinion for us now is an over cautious, inhibited policy on the new party. As for our cadre it is firm and well rooted in our basic ideology. I will call an emergency meeting of the PC tonight to take this matter up right away

fraternally

Ross

1961-07July

The New Party and the struggle for an anti-war policy

*(Transcription from handwritten speech notes, found in 1961 – page 1 missing.
The NDP was known briefly as the New Party before the founding convention in 1961,
replacing the CCF – Cooperative Commonwealth Federation --ed.)*

...The drama is heightened by the interest that is rising across the nation, in the fields, in the workshops and in the offices, in the new party that will be formed during the last days of July and the first of August.

Will the New party be launched as an anti war party or on the crucial question of war and peace; on foreign policy will it play the old by-partisan game that the CCF leadership has been party to with the Libs & Tories and SC (*Social Credit*)

The CCF through the history of its last national Convention stands committed to fight to break Canada from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to unilateral disarmament. This position was won by rank and file and new youth delegates after an intense debate. Immediately afterwards the newly elected national leader Hazen Argue (*speaker obviously meant to say Tommy Douglas –ed.*) brazenly repudiated the Convention statement as merely a guide and non-binding. Since then the CCF national treasurer Andrew Brewin has raised the smallness of the majority vote to justify his publicly disassociating himself from this position. Aspirant leader of the NP, Saskatchewan Premier Tommy Douglas, Quebec leader Harry Pope and others have defied the convention decision. CLC (*Canadian Labor Congress*) leader Claude Jodoin is said to have made the off-the-cuff statement "wait 'till we get them in Ottawa." But the decision was made by the delegates and since then has become a rallying point for the NP forces across the country.

The CLC leadership have since bared their policy to the public – one established without consultation with the ranks. In their brief to the federal government on Feb. 2 they openly disassociated themselves from any policy of unilateral disarmament. They opposed nuclear armament of Canadian forces at home or abroad but supported continuing Canadian involvement in both NATO and NORAD which they suggested should be critically examined. (This stand) provoked a public rebuke by Professor McNaught for adopting a foreign policy without a wide-ranging convention debate.

CCF secretary-treasurer this month further amplified the CCF position. A policy of non-alignment with the USA and for good measure he adds non-alignment with the USSR would instead of leading to a lessening of the expensive burden of our military

establishment, would require more to deter not only the USSR but for good measure he adds the US, thus increasing Canadian (expenditure). Such a position would heighten the danger of nuclear war, he said outlining the CLC policy. (He said we should) continue our support of NATO as long as there is a chance of influencing Western politics, (that we) should remain active in the alliance. (He called for) no nuclear contribution by Canada to NATO. He suggested Canada should follow an independent policy in NATO, and enforce and extend the economic aid clauses in the NATO pact, and leave this (nuclear) aspect of NATO to those able to do it -- a regular division of labor.

The result of this policy is that neither the CCF nor the CLC leaders have really opposed the drive to militarize this country or any aspect of it. They have exposed the expenditures on so-called civil defence, the hundreds of thousands allocated for catacombs to preserve the state apparatus should a war come – this psychological preparation of the Canadian people for continued arms expenditure and nuclear armament of Canadian forces. They haven't done more... than make the record.

In fact they too have fallen for the carefully fostered myth that there is a schism between two leading members of the Tory cabinet and they have sidled up to Tory External Affairs Minister Green. H.W. Herridge, CCF Kootenay West, speaking in the House on Feb. 1 said that the split was deep between External Affairs and the Defense Departments, referring to External Affairs Minister Green and Prime Minister Diefenbaker's public approval of the anti-H-Bomb movement's Voice of Women, and Mr. Harkness urging of naval reserve officers to get into politics by fighting such a movement which he suggested was treasonous. "In my opinion," he repeated to the House, "their purpose is to undermine the will of the Canadian people to resist aggression and to weaken Canadian resistance."

Erhart Regier waxed so indignant as to suggest that the Tories themselves (are to blame), noting the width of the split, (adding they) should remove the portfolio from him (Green). It is true of course that Mr. Green felt called upon to repudiate his representatives at the NATO parliamentary conference where they went on record fully favoring nuclear arming of (the) Canadian NATO brigade this year. And that Mr. Harkness was reported by the Canadian press representative who accompanied him on a tour of Canadian bases in Europe as saying that it would be completely stupid for Canadian forces not to have nuclear weapons.

But it is also true that on Feb. 16 Mr. Green stated that this idea of a great gulf between myself and Mr. Green is just not correct, and speaking on neutralism, Mr. Green (said): "we would lose our self respect. If we lost our self respect there

wouldn't be much left of Canada."

J. B. Witchell, speaking before the BC Committees on Radiation Hazards, called the shot when he suggested that the Diefenbaker government may be using Mr. Green's efforts in the UN on disarmament as a "smoke screen" knowing that these efforts are doomed to failure. Then Diefenbaker can attempt to justify the nuclear arming of Canada by saying "well we have tried."

The CLC leadership and the CCF top brass talk about Canada following an independent policy in NATO – about staying in to influence policy, about working to extend the economic aid clauses, only leads to the deception of the Canadian people, and they are not talking about a policy of a new party, a party making an independent bid for office, coming to grips with the key issue of war or peace – this is a policy of support of the Tory government. They are not talking about a New Party government with New Party representatives in NATO who in some wildest of fantasies one could perhaps dream of changing the fundamental structure of this military alliance whose strategy is based entirely on nuclear arms, into something quite it's opposite. They are talking about Canadian representatives who are Tories – who are members of a government which (supports) NATO's (fundamentals.)

A government that has made every single move that could possibly be taken preparatory to making the snap decision to slide the nuclear device in the Bomarc missile (and) in the Honest John Rocket in the bays of the CF 104, and that is moving apace to psychologically prepare the Canadian people for this final act with its propaganda urging construction of bomb shelters (and) it's construction of catacombs to preserve the state apparatus.

By what token, by what power do the CLC and CCF brass dream to transform the NATO military alliance into something quite the opposite? On what grounds can they suggest it be given another chance?

The economic aid clauses in the NATO constitution have remained just there completely inoperative; they were designed to remain just there. They were the come-on. When the question of NATO first came before the House of Commons, a core of CCF MPs immediately reacted to oppose it. The BC CCF Provincial Council rejected endorsement as did the Ontario CCF Youth Provincial Council. Subsequently the BC CCF convention opposed it. But the arguments of David Lewis and Coldwell to hammer down the opposition in 1949 were the same as the bait that the CLC and CCF brass hold out to entice continued acceptance eleven years later.

Lewis urged CCF support for the Liberal government on the

basis that it was necessary to influence American policy – so get into the Alliance. All the other clauses establishing freedom of the air which led to U-2 flights, the right to intervene against revolutions, to establish military bases on the borders of the USSR, and unification of arms, were covered over by Coldwell with a great hullabaloo about the economic aid clause.

Where has NATO served to moderate the policies of its participants – MacMillan and the French in Suez, the French in Algeria, the Belgians in the Congo? All the arguments advanced by the CLC and CCF brass even the good aspects such as favoring no nuclear arming cannot be taken seriously – they themselves don't take them seriously.

Anti-nuclear arms forces are beginning to move out, seeking some more effectual method of struggle than (going) cap in hand – they are many times the numbers who already undecided. They (embody the) principle of independent labor political action; they have a vast field that has been won to it, if (the party) takes a firm clear stand. It was a marginal vote at the last convention. But there is rising opposition across the country to nuclear armament. There is no other political party in which there are any forces actively opposing the government's arms drive. The New Party not only must stand up on principle but it would appear that by so doing there is every possibility of giving the new party an immediate tremendous base by standing by the truth and putting up a mighty struggle to win the party to withdrawal from NATO and for unilateral disarmament.

The fight is not going to be an easy one. It's not Canada's contribution in dollars and cents that's of importance to the US as head man in NATO – a contribution of only 6.15% – one army brigade, and 1 air division of 12 squadrons – Canada's NORAD contribution. Now with the war devices rendered useless and even the Bomarcs are outdated, it's less than nothing.

What the Pentagon fears is that should Canada break from the Liberal-Tory policy of NATO-NORAD support, it won't have the effect of neutralism. It would be a body-blow – Canada is the important cement to preserve the alliance which includes France as an alliance of the "free peoples against totalitarian nations." Canadian action would strengthen the anti-war forces in the US and Britain, would forge with the British fight against the war as a political fight.

(*Handwritten end notes:*) petition, referendum, election of (a NP) government – open up discussions on clubs in the NP, CCF and unions – possibility to give the NP an anti-war policy – Van. BC CCF.

August 11, 1961
81 Queen St West
Toronto, Ont.

Dear John; Riddell

Sorry to be so long in answering your letter. I am only now getting some of the accumulation away that grew up during my week at the Ottawa convention--there is now the short lull before we pitch into the August issue of the paper. The week attendance as press representative of the Vanguard--I was credentialled and all, managed to throw a few barbed questions at Gaitskell during his press interview--was valuable to get the temper of that layer of the Canadian working class who attended, the left, the brass etc. From the point of view of policy, NATO, nationalization we lost all down the line but if there was ever doubt about our orientation to this new party there can be none now--the working class of Canada are now absolutely launched off in a mass party of their own independent of the capitalist parties and seeking the power. The convention was an exhilarating one--the mood was let's get rolling, an impatience with what they thought were doctrinaire disputes--this was grabbed onto by the trade union brass most crassly by Murray Cotterill when he said we are not concerned with going left or right we want to go up. The old left didn't do anything to undercut this demagogic --very amateurish, sad cranky--left all the day to day class struggle questions to the trade union brass--they just don't have any concept of program such as we have developed in our Transitional Program--they are unable to relate the ultimate objective with the day to day need but sit on their backsides when these matters come up or rise to repeat a few socialist fundamentals. It is obvious that we are the only real factor on the left which no doubt accounts for the hysteria raised against us in the youth convention that took place on the week end following the N.W DEMOCRATIC PARTY convention. There is lots to tell about the convention however in a couple of weeks you will be receiving four pages of the Vanguard full. But you recall Tony Moxto he is apparently in the new Eglinton youth group--rushed over to me as soon as he saw me--at one point he had four youth delegates clustered around me at the very front of the assemblage under the quizzical eye of Prigden. I must say that he gave the most effective speech against NATO of anyone from the floor. He introduced me to a young fellow from Sydenham who will be coming into Toronto this fall who strikes me as being first rate material for the revolutionary movement. But a word about the NATO debate. The brass was almost paralyzed with fear that the convention would pass an anti-NATO stand. You know the people to call themselves "Democratic" socialists to demark themselves from us totalitarian s--well they won but they compromised themselves badly in any honest mind. They arranged the agenda so that they cut in to the debate with the elections--and of course Douglas who has made no bones about his NATO position got elected. When I came into the hall at 10 the next morning all the floor mikes were crowded with youth, obviously anti-NATO who I hear had been there since 8:30. How to get around this situation--it was obvious that all the speakers with possibly one or two exceptions would be anti-NATO? Grube proposed

that we have five speakers from each side--it was agreed--then he says: they will all speak from the front platform. David Lewis, Coldwell, Douglas, Kalmen Kaplansky step one pace forward from their comfortable seats up there--all the rest start a mad scramble some from 300 yards away. Eventually things are sorted out--the right is unanimous who should speak for them--there are vast differences within the anti-NATO group but they get five worked out. Lewis makes a strong unity plea Coldwell the grand old man works it to death--and Douglas--it is hard to believe that he would intervene for to do so in anyway is to employ blackmail--he made it a matter of a vote of confidence. That victory cost them plenty I would say.

Sent you a few clippings from the Globe and Mail. The Kennedy position is a scandal over here, treated as such by the capitalist press and the British foreign office. K doesn't want West Berlin. As a matter of fact I am sure the bureaucracy would like to get rid of Poland, Hungary, East Germany and particularly Albania. As the Soviet area has spread, as "socialism" has broken out of one country, there has been nothing but troubles for the bureaucracy. It took decades to impose the bureaucratic apparatus on an exhausted Soviet working class--decades of decline and defeat of the forces of the world revolution. Now the world situation is quite the opposite hammering away and emboldening the Soviet masses. Even without paragraphs space running out. Here is a G&M columnist yesterday--"Certainly in E Germpople have no illusions about the motives of the fugitives. They are not heroes to their countrymen but who stayed behind but rather deserters. That the strong characters are not running should give no comfort to the EG leaders. The industrialization of EG has brought to the fore a self confident working class--the young are leaving in search of Mammon--those staying in their majority are in rigid bitter opposition to the regime..."

ROSS

August 11, 1961

Malcolm Bruce
Vancouver

Dear Malcolm;

Sorry for not having written you sooner--and for not having replied to your wire of July 20. I was in the midst of getting the paper together and also preparing to leave Toronto for a week in order to attend the convention in Ottawa. But on top of that you did not give me much latitude to reply for in your wire you say you are "unalterably" opposed to a position that I was putting forward. Unalterably doesn't leave much basis for discussion it seems to me. But what I did do so that we could operate was call an emergency meeting of the PC. We had a very thorough discussion in the process of which I attempted to assure that all viewpoints including yours were presented and the PC was 100 per cent in favor of identifying ourselves with Argue in the fight for the leadership of the party on the basis that Argue often for the wrong reason was saying what was necessary to be said on the major issues that divide left from right in the specific situation. Winnie had apparently come to this conclusion on her own and I noted that although when I quizzed Bill W prior to his coming here about his position and expressed reservations on grounds quite unclear to me that both he and Harold moved right into the Argue caucus.

I do not ~~see~~ how it can be said that we are being bought ~~far~~ by a few leftist declarations or that we entered into the right wing camp. Nor do I see ~~why~~ we should not apply what has been called the lesser evil theory in such matters as a fight between two tendencies in a party which in its total class significance we support. There were only two candidates therefore I think that it is our most serious responsibility to attempt to sensitively assess the situation, the various currents and tendencies and attempt to estimate which of the two candidates the left the most viable forces in the given situation tend to associate themselves with. I approached this matter from attempting to assess where what left there is at this stage is to be found, where we can find forces with which to some extent at least we can work with.

Well Malcolm life itself proved that the left forces at the New Democratic convention were centered around the Argue campaign for leader. I attended two meetings. One of them chaired by that maverick reformist Fisher was called to discuss the strategy of the Argue campaign. Cameron and Steeves were noticeably absent but those elements that we have worked with in the BC CCF were there and through no proselytizing on our part. And there were others there who are possibly even more important. Many of the youth were there, unfortunately they had a meeting of their own that night but some of those who appear to be the best were there--Montrealers. They are mostly CUCNDers--the new left types that Warde talks about in the latest issue of the International Socialist Review. Perhaps the most promising forces at the convention were the Quebec delegates and the youth delegates. One of the leftists elements in the Toronto area--a sort of gossip anti-administration elements, ~~who~~ who chaired the meeting along with Fisher probably planted in Fisher's ear that there were a couple of press representatives in the

audience. His purpose was to get me hoisted out. I identified myself as the editor of the Vanguard assuring them that of course we supported the New Party and that there would be no leakage on our part of what transform at this meeting. I sat down and nothing more came of it. Ron Irvine was there and went out of his way to give me a warm welcome as did Howard Pawle.

Through our support of Argue we gave nothing away--and we distinctly gained by it

I might add some comments and observations of the capitalist press. Article after article designated Argue as the leader of the left-left as anti-administration forces, the spokesmen of the socialists. In the speech that he made on nominations night Douglas felt compelled to comment on this. He tried to challenge that this was true--he did so by stating that he was after all premier of Saskatchewan where there was more socialism public ownership than anywhere in Canada--pitifully weak but I think that it is interesting that he felt called upon to challenge Argue on these grounds.

It is my conviction Malcolm that the various sections of the article Join and Build the New Party Now are not at all starry eyed but accurate evaluations of the situation ~~maxx~~ the opportunity that now confronts us. What has happened in Ottawa with the founders of the new party is just what Engles talks about in his letter to Sorge from London November 29, 1886 and his letter to Mrs Florence Kelley (Wischnewetzky) from London December 28 1886 Lenin refers to these letters in his Preface to the Russian translation of the letters. I hope that you have a copy of the Marx-Engles Correspondence or better still Letters to Americans by Marx and Engels. The struggle against this loathsome gang of labor fakers is going to take place in this new labor party. Not only is this party developing in a period of crisis unlike the period that the British Labor Party was permitted to rise but the leadership is already considerable discredited in the eyes of many of the party's most vigorous partisans...or let us say has no great prestige. George Homes and someone else had to protest against a tendency during the convention to separate the membership of the unions from the leadership--the talk about the grass and the brass.

The delegates gave the left--the somewhat sectarian left--an opportunity to talk about what the essential doctrine of the party should be but after a period showed some agitation. The atmosphere was let's get rolling with this party--anticipation is high. The brass grabbed onto this--notably in Steelbrass Murray Coterill's case when he shouted we are not interested in going left or right but upwards. ~~maxx~~ If we had had any really effective forces there we could have made a considerable impact. the old left vacated all the basic questions of a class character to the spokesman of the brass They just don't have any concept of a class struggle program such as was developed by the BC left under out tutelage titled The World Around us.

If anyone had any doubts before the convention I do not think they could have them during and after the NATO debate. The next issue of the paper will report this in detail. Sufficient to say the New Party brass brought the full power of their machine into play in order to stave off defeat on this question. They could only have considered that their defeat was certain.

Yes I noted your comments before about the photos that we are carrying of the enemies of the working class and the old man's comments to L'Humanite And I agree with them. But unfortunately we do not have a ~~maxx~~ caricaturist who can do the job we want done. We don't have anyone here right now who even

has a bent this way. Do you have anyone out there, for this does not require any real collaboration.

Of course of course Malcolm I and no other comrades ~~think~~ takes your criticisms in any other spirit than we know that you make them--in the interest of the development of the party. And the branch here seems to me to be developing along quite well. This next Wednesday we will be recruiting a couple more comrades--a young worker from DeHavilland who happens to be one of Canada's better boxers--the other an activist in the CCF. Things are now on the verge of moving out for us again the the teamsters. I am enclosir a letter announcing the formation of a 50 man negotiating committee in the local where we have our forces concratated. McDougall is now threatened by the Hoffa machine and so we have held out the olive branch to him on the basis that he set up this committee which will have 15 of our solid men on it and looking over the names of those submitted by another force in the local and thinking of who he will put on it it will have the best elements i the local--from barns scattered across the city where so far we have been unable to establish effective contact. The contact expires next month-- the men are hot for a big wage boost and out in hours. McDougall has agreed to allocate fun s for a local paper and place it in our hands--a printed paper. So we are off again to a hell of a lot of work but to a situation which will give our comrades an opportunity to lead a strike which will be a tough one and to add substantial numbers to our ranks. Wish you were here.

fraternally

Ross Dawson

August 11, 1961

Vancouver

Dear Ruth (Bullock)

Just received an airmail letter from Angus and Bob from Havanna which reminds me that I should have written you a few days ago as it is probable that Bill W will say nothing of what I was talking to him about on this matter.

Probably, almost certainly you have thought of it but just in case you have not I am hoping that Angus and Bob will get in touch with you when they get to Vancouver and that both or at least one of them will be available for a meeting should you decided to hold one under the auspices of Fair Play. I believe that there is another unionist(a CPer?) who went with them. A meeting is probably just what we need to give Fair Play a boost. It should have a powerful appeal what with the controversy in the BC labor movement. Should this not be possible of attainment. I know that Angus is hard pressed but I dont know how Bob stands for time. a meeting would be a must when Jerry Lebourdais returns

know

Didn't have much of a chance to ~~xxxxx~~ Lebourdais but he gave me the impression that he is another Joe Hendsbee who has done so much to transform the Toronto LSA although a little more inclined to be overwhelmed with the business of unionism, the small potatoes that have diverted and ruined many a good revolutionist. If I had had the chance I would have told him how we grabbed Farrell Dobbs and made him a party man. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Strong feeling for Cuba at the convention as you will see from the next issue of the Vanguard which we will start to really work on this com ng weekend. They prevented Jerry from reading the CTC greetings to the convention. When they came to read the entire list of organizations sending their expressions of solidarity the two that got a real applause were the Cuban and the Spanish SP in exile.

Do you have any dope on Alan Judd's arrest in Cuba? I have informed two of our comrades down there of this fact reported in the Star and suggested they see what they can do.

Received a caustic letter from Malcolm on the marring of the last issue with support of Argue and the edito with its evaluation of the NP and calling for all to join it despite any efforts to bar us. But the convention verified our position on all counts. The brass were frightened almost to death that the convention would come out against NATO and intervened in the most offensive and undemocratic way to block this possibility. They split the debate to get Douglas elected. the next morning the mikes were surrounded by anti-NATO speakers mostly the youth some having been there for 1½ hrs before the opening. Grube proposed in order that the right would get a furher hearing a fifty fity proposition on speakers 5 each then having got

this agreement declared that they would speak from the front mikes on the platform--Douglas, Coldwell, Lewis Kaplansky ~~xxxxxxxx~~ took one step forward and were there--the rest scrambled some three hundred yards in some case to get there, The right had no difficulty chasing its spokesmen--but the left, which opposes NATO from different angles, suffered from this. Lewis made a cunning unity appeal even stooping to utilize Argue's expression of solidarity with Douglas as leader made the night before following his defeat. Coldwell used his position as the grand old man and Douglas barged in to blackmail the delegates to make this question a vote of confidence and a reaffirmation of the stunning support he got the night before. Altogether it left a dirty task in almost everyone's mouth. The left--Steeves and others seem to me to be pretty well through--~~a~~ a bitter and cranky--besides being sectarian. The approach to the convention is ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ of any positiveness. All they could do was repeat fundamental comments on nationalization--they participated in no way in the question of the anti-labor drive, inflation cost of living--left the field clear to the right wing. They did not associate themselves with the Argue cause but things were little better there. A motley group. It is really tragic that we had so few delegates for there ~~were~~ some good elements there particularly amongst the youth and amongst the Quebec delegation. However I mistakenly made my trip on the cheap--three of us took our tent and camped out when I should have raised some dough, put in at a good and central hotel and even though not a delegate ~~xxxxxx~~ I would have been in a better position to have pulled the best elements together and given them direction within the Argue broad left and independent of it if necessary. My camping out even made it difficult to work with our own comrades. Winnie made ~~xxxxxxxx~~ one of the best speeches on the need for a socialist orientation although in my opinion she got off to a bad start by demanding that her vote be recorded after a long ~~long~~ tangle on an important procedural question. This action hit one like a cold clammy fish and when I raised it with her, she said something about the necessity to mark oneself out sharply right at the start. Well she did--a Stalinist approached her right off the real--~~xxxxxxxx~~ Bill never ever did speak and I really dont know what role he saw himself as playing. Harold's attitude in my opinion was the best, the most positive and incisive in so far as his own ideas. He spoke a couple of times--once I thought not too well--on the question of the right of non CLC unions to be part of the labor party. Margaret Erickson started this off but unfortunately she said nothing of the Teamsters, the SIU the Catholic syndicates, or the railway unions but only about the ~~sou~~ called communist lead unions. Of course the redbaiters grabbed on. Harold defended the right of Communists to be members but not the big ones--just the rank and file. However this is hardly the issue. Should any union support the new democratic party then they should be allowed to affiliate and send the delegates they see fit--period. The CP is not an issue at all, it is used as a red herring to cover this previous and principled matter--for the fact is that the CP does not support the New Democratic Party.

Both Bill and Winnie travelled back on the convention train. We had agreed to attempt to get an Argue caucus meeting before the break-up of the convention but they instead called one for three in the room where they were counting the executive election ballots. So nothing came of it. Then Harold told me that there was going to be another meeting in someone's hotel room however when he got back there the person had checked out. I wonder if you would ask Winnie to let me know how things turned out on the train.

I doubt if anything much, but any and all possibilities must be explored. My own impression is that the Argue supporters went away considerably dejected that they do not at all understand the historic process but are measuring things from the most formalistic point of view--Argue was defeated, ~~which~~ the new party supports NATO etc. the very dynamism that inspires us with the possibilities of the situation frighten them for they have no roots in the working class movement and little concept of the dynamics of the world situation, they are afraid of the union movement. But the best elements supported Argue ---and the best of those were CUCND elements, many of them from the Montreal area--and some you g autoworker delegates

Now that the convention is over hope that the brass eases up restrictions on new party membership and clubs. However Winnie talks about them possibly cracking down on the left.

Finishing this off in the store at 11 Friday night --will pick it up later.

fraternally

Ross D

August 11, 1961
Toronto

New York

Dear Murry (Wciss, SWP? - New York)

Sorry that you did not get a picture of what is happening in the youth here. Administratively things are lousy here. I pressed them to document the discussion and after failing to get them to seriously go about informing the New York centre and the Vancouver unit took it upon myself to ~~xxx~~ grab copies of the two documents and jam them into envelopes addressed to you and Vancouver. Since then, on Tuesday night to be exact I have managed to impose my will on one of the comrades to get him to sit down and write you an explanatory letter.

Sad to say I have had no chance to read this last letter nor read ~~xxx~~ either of the documents although I know the essence of the problem.

The mass meeting called in Toronto here last month for Hazen Argue one of the aspirants for the New Democratic Party leadership marked out very clearly so that not an one could challenge it that the NDP youth movement is underway. The meeting was called by one of the youth groups under our encouragement and with our aid. It was a big success with over 250 attending, the great majority of them young people - see the front page lead article last issue Vanguard) The two documents are a reflex action on the part of two of the better comrades who realize the importance of this development and linking ourselves up to it and a last ditch stand by another comrade.

If I am not mistaken the one document calls for the dissolution of the open and public Young Socialist Alliance and the entry of its forces as a faction circulating the YS and Keep Left but working towards a NDP youth paper open to our opinion. I strongly favor this opinion. The other documents expresses the opinion that the YS should continue to exist as a forum, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and that ~~xxx~~ publication of the Bulletin should continue. I do not feel that this is necessary or advisable, as we have the Vanguard and the League for Socialist Action forums.

Some of our youth comrades are very comfortable in the YS and LSA and are reluctant to move in and around the NDP youth. Fortunately we are now at last overcoming this. Three of them attended the youth convention which was held a couple of days after the adult rally. About 100 delegates attended all told. The convention never got onto the political plane having spent all its time on the constitution. It divided down the middle on constitutional bars against the left---prominent right wingers designated the entire opposition as Trotskyist. It is good to see that now several of the comrades are now talking about working with our contacts in this youth movement to broaden it and get what forces we have in it.

There will be another meeting of the youth to carry the discussion further in the light of the convention ~~this~~ weekend and they will be making a report to the Toronto LSA this coming weekend. I see no need to maintain the YS either as a membership organization or as a forum in the present situation public. If you think otherwise drop us a line as soon as you are able.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Q3 #25
August 11, 1961
81 Queen St West
Toronto, Ont.

(Marshall? SWP)

Dear Joe;

Sorcy I could not reply to your letter July 21 sooner but it was squeezed aside by the last issue of the Vanguard, the preparations to go to the Ottawa convention and the recovery from that week of absence

Within a week you will have a very detailed report on the situation in Cuba, the suppression of the paper, the climate there for us, the health of the IS forces there etc. Vern G returned a few days ago and we had a two to three hour discussion last night. He has promised me that over this coming week end he will go over his notes and work out a detailed report.

He will also in all probability deal with the extreme difficulties experienced by Fair Play and its projected our and the handling of the recent visit arranged by the Cuban Embassy through Jerry Lebourdais of the Oil-workers.

Since his report will be available within the week for me to go through and add to where I see fit I think we might as well leave the matter. In passing I suppose you noted the latest little item from Britain Summer Issue Labor Review-the book review by GK of books on China--where he links Castro to Sun Yat-sen and his protege Chiang Kai-Shek-page 58. I hear that they are now circulating a major document on Cuba. Strange to say we never did get our bundle copies of the issue carrying the editorial about the suppression of Voz Proletaria and warning the CP about Castro--I happened to see a copy that was sent to Gerry's former secretary now living here in Toronto

I did not know that there was an IC meeting taking place last month until Jerry Liang who on his holiday is visiting Peng wrote us and asked to be designated our representative at the gathering. We asked that he be seated as an observer. He should be coming back shortly and I will get a report of this gathering into your hands as soon as he does.

I will be sending you more material on Cuba---two of our leading West Coast unionists were there over the 23rd and should be back home anyday now.

fraternally

Ross

81 Queen St W
Toronto
August 12, 1961

Alex McCormack
P.O. Box 21
Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Comrade McCormack

Sorry to be so long in taking up your enquiries about Mine Mill in Sudbury. Have been tied up badly the past month or so having taken a full week out to attend the New Party convention in Ottawa.

We actually don't have anyone in Sudbury who in my opinion is capable of giving you an accurate evaluation of the situation there--although we have a fair number of subscribers and a few better contacts. In my opinion it is very difficult for anyone in Sudbury to abstract himself from the long intense and wearying conflicts there. But here is the situation as I see it for what it is worth

It is apparent that things are coming to a showdown ~~xxxx~~. Local 598 has been dropped from good standing by the Mine Mill leadership. The local leadership just stopped paying per capita dues so they forced the national executive's hands. To my knowledge the executive has taken no further action than this which deprives the local of representation at conventions etc. But there is lots in the fire. The daily press here recently carried a major article ~~xx~~ which though weak on hard fact seems to have substantial basis to the effect that the Mine Mill leadership is linking up with the teamsters. The leaders of our teamster caucus have known for some time that one of Hoffa's top boys has been hanging around Sudbury and something is cooking. Murphy was queried by the press about this and was particularly evasive. It has seemed to us for some time now that Mine Mill, UE have been toying with the idea of setting up a separate ~~maximum~~ trade union center. This would become a practical possibility in their mind should Hoffa and Banks of the SIU pick it up. For sometime ~~they~~ neither the UE or Mine Mill in this part of the country have been demanding re-admission to the CLC---their position on the New Democratic Party has been a combination of the crassest opportunistic play to anti-politicians, including Liberals and Tories, and pseudo-left exposures of the top leadership circles of the CLC and NDP. Our impression is that the Murphy leadership has been steadily losing ground in Sudbury.

Yes, the Sudbury leadership is a motley crew. Gillis was until recently a Tory municipal office holder--the Catholic hierarchy has been intervening and playing an important role in the strategy of this group from what we gather. Steel is in there. Steel and the CLC are the other factor in the showdown that appears to be on us. As you probably know the Gillis group has been campaigning for affiliation with the CLC I would think that this has broadened its base and won to it many of the better elements who had either been supporting Mine Mill executive or been straddling on the fence. Local 598 had delegates at the New Party convention. Unfortunately I was unable to meet them and feel them out --I see they are not listed as delegates but their existence was brought forcibly to the attention of the delegates when a UAW hack launched a red baiting campaign against Mine Mill ~~and~~ the UE and others for

not having established a leadership acceptable to them. These delegates got up and protested. Is the local affiliated or has it signed the New Party Statement of Support or is it a rank and file New Party body? The provisional NP constitution specified that our teamster forces could go ahead and organize a new party club and obtain a charter but we have been blocked at every turn. In our opinion the New Party is a pivotal question. The existence of a Local 598 New Party Club would show that there are some valuable elements in the forces which have Gillis' name attached to them. On these two questions, being part of the mainstream of the Canadian labor movement being affiliated to the CLC, and the New Democratic Party the best elements would have to line up against Mine Mill.

My experiences tell me that while raiding and red baiting tends to throw the best elements behind such as the Mine Mill leadership their base is often not the best element by any means. Many good elements have been swept along with the red-baiting ~~whinnying like mules~~ Having had some unfortunate experiences they tend to identify red baiting with anti-Stalinism. Of course Murphy and company often with some truth on their side attack opposition forces to their machine as company unionist and so forth but on the basis of my experiences it is necessary to remain sceptical. While they often talk tough and militant the record show that the Stalinists are no better as unionists than the right wing brass.

Sorry I am unable to give you more detailed information. but I hope that these few comments will be of use to you and your local. Do you get down to Vancouver very often? I am wondering if you know Reg Bullock and or Malcolm Bruce and if you have ever managed to get around to the ~~minimum~~ forums that they hold in the SLL hall at 875 East Hastings. And what is doing with the New Democratic Party in your area. As I mentioned previously I had the opportunity of attending the convention which laid down the foundations of a powerful working class movement in which all socialist must be in order to fight for the adoption of their viewpoint.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Attached you will find a report of some discussions held in Havana between a Canadian visiting there and comrades of the Cuban section of the Fourth International (IS)

The Canadian is not a member of the League for Socialist Action but is extremely well acquainted with our views and is in basic agreement with them, particularly our views on Cuba as detailed in the position of the SWP

The report, there is not doubt in my mind, scrupulously accurate.

is
Ross Dawson
81 Queen St West
Toronto 1, Ont.

copies to SWP, SLL, Paris, Vancouver

REPORT ON DISCUSSIONS HELD WITH COMRADES FROM THE CUBAN
SECTION – 4TH INTERNATIONAL (IS) (International Secretariat – ed.)
August 14, 1961.

1. Two discussions were held one with three comrades including the editor of Voz Proletaria, Comrade Idalberto Ferrera, an English speaking comrade and a representative of the Latin American Bureau who has been sent to Cuba to assist in the work of the section, Comrade Jose Lungarzo. The second meeting was with the English speaking comrade only.

2. "THE SUPPRESSION OF VOZ PROLETARIA AND "PERMANENT REVOLUTION"

These are the facts. Approximately nine issues of Voz Proletaria had been published (an eight page larger than tabloid size paper). The paper was being printed in a privately owned shop (one of the few private print shops left in Havana – the rest being owned by the "National Print", which is publicly owned. Before the May issue went to press after the type had been set for a Spanish edition of Leon Trotsky's "PERMANENT REVOLUTION," the shop was "intervened" by the National Print organization along with some of the other remaining private shops. (I was told that the head of the nationalized print shops was a well known Stalinist).

After the nationalization, the type for "PERMANENT REVOLUTION" was removed the shop and presumably smashed. The workers in the shop and the editor of Voz Proletaria were told, verbally, that the paper could not be printed in the shop any longer because it was a "counter-revolutionary" paper. The workers sent a delegation to see the Stalinist manager but he would not change his mind. The editor also tried to see the manager but was told over the phone that the paper was "counterrevolutionary." Nothing was ever put in writing.

The editor tried to see President Dorticos but was unable to get past the reception desks. As far as I remember, the comrades did not pursue the matter further. The comrades could not say if the "intervention" was directly related to the imminent publication of "PERMANENT REVOLUTION," especially since other shops were also intervened at the same time.

3. A new issue of Voz Proletaria is being prepared with the intention of submitting the copy to one of the few remaining private shops. Agreement has already been reached with this shop. It remains to be seen what happens to this issue of their paper.

4. I paid a visit to the editor of BOHEMIA, Mr. Enrique De La Osa, and explained the situation to him. During the conversation, Mr. De La Osa told me that he was familiar with the paper and had read several issues but was not aware that the paper had met with foul play. He also said that he had read the major works of Trotsky and had most of them in his personal library. I discussed the possibility of Stalinist intrigue in this case and he agreed that this was probably the case. Before parting, he agreed to an interview with Mr.

Ferrera which was arranged for the next week. The interview was reported to me as being very satisfactory; that De La Osa had agreed to use his influence to arrange an interview between Ferrera and Fidel's secretary with the possibility of Ferrera seeing Fidel himself. This interview has yet to be arranged.

5. Until very recently, no members of party have been molested as a result of their political activity. However, a few days before the 26th of July, in Guantanamo City, a Stalinist led union and a defence committee distributed a leaflet calling upon the workers of that City to attend a local gathering to celebrate the 26th and to strike a blow against the enemies of the revolution (the Trotskyists were listed as enemies of the revolution). The party rushed a small leaflet into print and distributed the city calling for unity and indicating their unqualified support of the revolution. The following is an English translation of the leaflet:

“WORKERS AND FARMERS – everyone come to the Civic Square on the 26th of July, the date on which is commemorated the anniversary of the struggle which was started against the tyranny of Batista and the imperialist Yankee. With our presence we will demonstrate once more our unity in action to advance the Socialist Revolution. We shall defeat imperialism and the internal counterrevolution, intensifying our agricultural and industrial production and revolutionary consciousness. For the defence and consolidation of our Cuban Workers State, the first in Latin America. LONG LIVE OUR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, LONG LIVE THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION, LONG LIVE THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.”

Signed: Revolutionary Workers Party, (Trotskyist), Cuban section of the 4th International, Regional Committee of Guantanamo, Dated Guantanamo, 24th of July, 1961.”

On the day of the distribution, one of their trade union militants was picked up by the militia while distributing and was held for two days before being released. A few days later, this trade union militant, (railroad worker) along with a couple of right wing leaders was removed from his trade union post in a special meeting of the workers. Many workers told this comrade after the meeting that they only voted for his removal because they were afraid of their jobs.

6. A couple of months ago, the office of the party in Guantanamo City was closed down by officials in the city after the party failed to pay its rent for one month. They were not given a chance to rectify the error and as yet the office has been unable to re-open. The comrades tell that this was the work of Stalinist civic officials in the city. Their complaints were to no avail.

7. The party has three branches, one in each of the cities of Havana, Guantanamo City and Santiago de Cuba, with a total membership of about thirty to forty. Many of their members are in militia or in the Rebel Army. Most of their members are workers with a few intellectuals and professional people. In the trade unions, the Stalinists point the comrades out to the workers and label them as counterrevolutionary. In one shop, one of

their militants has been elected for a third term in his union over the fierce opposition of the Stalinists.

8. HOY (the Communist Party journal – ed.) has attacked the party a couple of times but has given them the silent treatment for the most part. The affair where Guevara attacked an article in their paper in a television appearance (and) later referred to them as “companeros (companions) Trotskyists” was reported in HOY under a heading “Trotskyist infamy.”

9. I discussed the question of the party’s attitude to the new revolutionary organization being formed in Cuba. They informed me that this question has not been settled as yet, and could not be settled by the Cuban section alone. Their allegiance to the IS was unquestioned. However, there did not seem to be a trace of a factional attitude toward the SWP or the LSA. On the contrary, their attitude was completely positive.

10. The group seemed to be completely confident that the future of the party was bright, despite evidence of growing Stalinist influence which has already resulted in overt attacks on the group of a very serious nature. Their confidence seems to reflect, in part at least, a confidence in the anti- Stalinist forces represented by the Fidelistas and in particular Fidel himself.

(Note: SWP = Socialist Workers Party, USA)

81 Queen St West
Toronto
August 15, 1961

Hull, Que.

Dear Peter;

Received your note this morning.

Found the letters that you sent to us very interesting. The fact that you said little about Cuba I attribute to the language problem. Vern Olson who I think you know just returned from his second visit to Cuba and he tells me that if you do not understand Spanish and you are unable to make connections with some of the revolutionary institutions you could see quite a bit of the achievements of the revolution but remain on the outside of it all.

I sent your Cuban address to George and Bea Bryant who have been there for about ~~two months~~ a month now but it is possible that by the time I had an address for you and got it into their hands that you had left. They have written us some excellent letters--they are tremendously inspired. They have met co-thinkers of ours there and moved in around the sizeable English speaking colony. Everyone is concerned about the developing influence of the CP but they feel confident that the Castro leadership which has proven to be profoundly democratic is well in the saddle and that the revolution is profound and continuing forward so that the possibilities of developing Stalinist influence are somewhat limited.

I am enclosing the latest issue of the Militant which has a lengthy statement on Cuba of great importance. You will also notice an article that I wrote for them on the New party convention which will be of interest- The next issue of the Vanguard will have a very full coverage of the convention. I am hoping that you will be able to make the time to contact new party elements in Hull or Ottawa. I know that there ~~are~~ are a couple of new party clubs in Ottawa.... no doubt quite conservative but important avenues for work.

You will note that I took one of your letter to us here and worked it over a bit to make it a letter to the editor. I thought it was a very amusing and valuable point that you scored but since it was not developed in a clear form took the liberty of elaborating on it.

I am sending this letter to you first class. In previous correspondence you told me to send you material via General Delivery. Would you let me know when next chance you have how you would like your mail handled. Are you coming down to Toronto to see us one of these days.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

August 16, 1961

Dear Joe; (Hansen) SWP

Managed to get the report so that you will have it before your holidays. Vern Olson who I think you will recall is its author. Vern is possibly the most cautious, precise person I know—I would use anything in it without the slightest doubt as to its correctness. Of course because of his position in FPFCC nothing can be said as to its source. As I recall this is what he told me in the process of a three or four hour conversation immediately upon his return. But if you have any questions I am sure that he knows more—which even if he is not so sure of might be useful.

I am sending this note off right away so that you will be sure to have it in time. In the next mail I will be sending you a few other odds and ends that I gathered from him—but nothing on the VozProletaria

comradely

Ross

I have sent copies to Peirre Frank, Healy
ds

September 2, 1961

Dear Farwell;

Sorry to have missed sending you this note before. We have been anticipating a nomination for the school from the West Coast but have not yet received one. However we are quite familiar with the situation --the one person there who we would like to have attend is unfortunately due to have an ear operation this fall which will take time to heal and so is unavailable. So we are presenting only one nomination for your consideration.

Our nominee is Ernest Tate. Quite a few of the comrades there know him and fairly well as he was in New York for about a year during the crucial period of the launching of the YSA. Ernie is 26 years of age and has been in the movement about 7 years. He had no political experience before contacting us although at the time was the secretary of a packinghouse local. He had come to Canada from Northern Ireland only about a year before joining us. He is a real party activist with considerable ability to move around other currents and tendencies in the working class movement. At present he is in charge of the New Democratic Party work in the Toronto LSA--which of course is our major area of operations. He is a member of the branch executive and also of our national committee. He has had little formal education but is a great reader--a wide reader. My own opinion is that what he needs to roundly develop himself is an opportunity such as the school provides--an opportunity to study and with others of ability. When I heard that this school was planning to give its students an opportunity to really put their teeth into the basic writings of the movement I felt that this is just what Ernie needs. He is serious about developing himself. He has learned to ~~writex~~ typewrite and with more experience and time I think that he can write for our press. But I have often felt that what he lacks is a real grounding, a real grasp of our basic views. He has been anticipating going to the school for several years and there is no doubt that we would have nominated him before but he was not in a position to go until now. He is married to a young comrade who was already in the movement who will be working in our Vancouver branch for the coming fall winter-spring while attending University out there. Last year he was found to have a serious eye ailment called macular's disease. He has had treatment and for the past 8 or 9 months there has been no further deterioration. He will be having his eye checked again before leaving for the camp but everything seems fine here. He should be of some help around the camp. He is an operating engineer 4th class and right now is working in a large plant where he has been doing all kinds of maintenance work-plumbing etc.

So you see why we think that he is well worth your consideration. If you have any questions you can call me at 555-1234.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

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Sorry to have missed sending you this note before. We have been anticipating a nomination for the school from the West Coast but have not yet received one. However we are quite familiar with the situation --the one person there who we would like to have attend is unfortunately due to have an ear operation this fall which will take time to heal and so is unavailable. So we are presenting only one nomination for your consideration.

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fraternally

Ross Dowson

Setepember 7m 1961
81 Queen St West
Toronto

David McGarvie
General Delivery
Cumberland
B.C.

Dear Comrade McGarvie;

Sorry to be so long in taking up your letters or even finding a substitute----and surprised on glancing through our Vanguard files not to find your name on them which is the reason you havev not been receiving the Vanguard.

I have now put you down for a small bundle of ten copies which you will be receiving regularly at the above address.--and have just mailed you ten of the last issue. This is a particularly valuable issue in our opinion as it is devoted entirely to the founding New Party convention and is the only honest and rounded report. We got a very good reception with this issue at the Toronto and the Hamilton labor day parades. We sold all together 540 odd copies. The Stalinists were giving the Tribune away and my impression is that we sold more than they were able to hand out. We are anticipating that some of the NDP left will be asking for bundles for circualtion. Of course the brass is mad as hell about this issue. They tried to run us off the forming up places of "their" parrade. The Vanguard is in a very good strategic position to become the voice of the left wing. None of the dissidents no matter where theystand on the socialist spectrum can have any illusions about the nature of the BC CCF NEWS, or any of the other official papers. Theyx left needs a press and we are the only serfously organized force with a press. If we continue to orient it properly we can have a big impact. I attended the Argue caucus meeting while at the Ottawa convention ,there was some objection raised about representatives of the press being there and when I got up and identified myself as editor of the Vanguard there were freindly reactions and the oppostion had to shut up

Do you get the Militant---and the International Socialist Review---and Labor Review? If you dont I think it would be very good to take out subscriptions first time you are in a financial position to do so. The literature of the movement is always important but for you over there on the island with very sporadic if any contact over a period of months with the comrades in Vancouver I would think it is essential . Our little monthly doesn't begin to fit the bill.

How long have you been in Cumberland and what do you do there. Some years back during one of our cross Canada tours we went up into Cumberland and Courtenay and did some excellent subscription work with the Labor Challenge it was then. There were a couple of people we came in contact with who impress us very much and if you would be staying there for a period I would try to pull out of our files.

But a few more words about education---and Gerry McKinney. Gerry isn't with us any more. The latest is that he has gone back to the CP. We havent seen hi for over a month and a half--then the organizer finally got him in and he talked about his differences with us which have nothing to do with Stalinism but the application of our NDP orientation. Then we heard from

Had our annual conference here in Toronto a couple of weeks ago. Turns out that we have just doubled our membership over the last year. And it is not just a matter of counting heads. The ISA here has changed qualitatively. We have a much better trade union base than we ever had with a terrific concentration in the teamsters which opens all kinds of new possibilities. Our biggest weakness is getting our forces involved and operating in the New Democratic Party. There are some extenuating circumstances. Few of the clubs have really got rolling and there are no leftists around to give us a bit of cover and the right is after us trying to freeze us out. Probably you noticed that ~~among~~ the Ontario brass has added to the NDP membership clause that you cannot be associated with Trotskyism or Trotskyist "fronts". They have already expelled one of our comrades from the Ontario CCF ~~as~~ they are holding up a membership renewal on one of our key comrades and they are trying to maneuver another one of our leading trade unionists from getting the nomination to represent his local. We have reached a division of labor amongst our forces so that we do not unnecessarily expose comrades to this witch hunt but at the same time don't let the brass cripple us from circulating the paper etc. The youth field looks promising and while we will continue to circulate the Young Socialist it looks like we may well be able to get a youth paper moving to which we could contribute.

Fair Play for Cuba Committee work will be opening up shortly as this year we hope will make contact with the campus. The witch hunt against FPCC, the continued left course of the revolution are combining to cut away the former liberal supporters and force the committee more and more to orient itself to working class support. Chairman Olson just returned from Cuba and gave a report to an audience of some 70 last week--about 30 of them bought copies of

of the Vanguard to read what Jerry Lebourdais had to say. Olson apparently checked up on the information that ~~xxxxxx~~ Stalinists in some lower offices moved in and suppressed our Cuban paper. In a recent issue of the Militant Carleton Beals exposed the factionalism of the CP in Prensa Latina and in a discussion on intellectual freedom in the arts Castro recently said dont worry ladies and gentlemen there will be no Stalinism here. For the first time in any Fair Play activity this whole question of the rotten factionalism of the Cuban CP came up so there was a little flurry in the ranks of the Canadian CPers around it. Their line was just let's keep to the main issue tell the truth about Cuba--but it was apparent to everyone that this factionalism is a great disservice to the revolution and a couple of persons who have been around the CP asked for more information obviously much concerned. Our own people in Cuba do not appear to be too worried. While Stalinism is increasing its influence the revolution is unfolding mightly--going forward--and the Fidelista leadership is profoundly democratic

But what gives out in your area? In one of your letters at hand you mention that a NDP meeting was being held and that you would let us know how it turned out. Glad to see that you managed to get over to Vancouver last month. The LSA headquarters has been a big step forward for our work there. It is reflected in the terrific sub campaign that the comrades carried out this summer--the first in years....and also in the sizeable contribution that they made to last Spring's financial drive. You mention starting up a League for Socialist Action group where you are. I think it would be best to proceed cautiously here. I gather that the brass have moved in on a couple of Vancouver comrades. They will possibly proscribe the LSA just as the right wing of the British Labor Party have proscribed the Socialist Labor League. At this stage we should best assume a semi-illegality. The best thing is to get readers to the paper which I think that the climate permits in Vancouver without too firm an identification. On the basis of the response to the paper then we could pull ~~xxxx~~ closer to us the best elements who with a little experience could constitute themselves as an LSA branch. We would of course like to proclaim our views and our affiliation openly however it is apparent that to do so may well just be what the brass would like--so that they could cut us off from the movement and leave the workers who go to that party to their tender mercies. We have to be sure that we do not get into a position were we cannot play the role we must

Now as to your having the status of membership at large. Unfortunately we here at the center are not in a very good position to maintain the contact with comrades in this status that we should as you well know. I am hoping that the Vancouver comrades will take on many of these responsibilities and that you will as much as possible maintain a close consultative contact with them. They are quite familiar with the Island groups--particularly Reg and they have good connections so that they know what the TU and NDP brass are doing. Political developments are quite uneven here in Canada

Sorry but I was not able to demark local NDP delegates Shirley Donlevy and Kemps from the other 2,000 delegates. I do not believe either spoke. Possibly Winnie Henderson met them and got to know them. She along with Harold came through to Ottawa on the train which provided considerable opportunity. It is probable since they were right wingers that they did nothing more than raise their hats at the appropriate times and thereby earned their fares.

fraternally

81 Queen Street, West,
Toronto, Ontario.

September 13, 1961.

(Toronto Daily)

The Telegram,
Bay & Melinda Sts.,
Toronto, Ontario.

Dear Sir:

Your September 6th issue carried an Ottawa report on an R.C.M.P. circular enlisting the aid of Canadians in a search for a Robert Williams. According to your report the R.C.M.P. is collaborating with the F.B.I. on the basis that kidnap warrants have been issued against Williams by authorities in Monroe, North Carolina.

The dispatch treats this matter as if Williams is a common criminal however sufficient information is already available to show that he is being victimized by notorious Southern Racists.

Williams is the leader of the North Carolina N.A.C.P., editor of a weekly newsletter called the "Crusader", and a leader of U.S.-wide reputation in the Negro rights movement. For his vigorous defence of Negro rights he has been a target of white supremacist authorities in Union County, North Carolina, who finally, around an incident, have laid the charge of kidnapping which carries a penalty of life imprisonment in North Carolina.

The incident developed out of the arrival on August 21st of a large contingent of Freedom Riders in Monroe who, with Monroe Negroes, began a weeks picketing of the local court house.

The weeks picketing was marked by framed-up arrests of pickets, by attacks by racist hoodlums, and finally, on August 27th, mass arrests and preparations of the Negro community to defend itself from an expected invasion.

At this point, a middle aged white couple drove into the heart of the jittery colored community and were halted and held, and after a few hours released, unharmed, by the excited throng.

Even from the prejudiced accounts of the North Carolina press the fact emerges that Williams, far from kidnapping this couple, rebuked those who had brought the Stegalls into his home and protected them until they could be safely released.

It appears that the R.C.M.P. suspects Williams has come to Canada. If there is any truth in this, Canadians, far from collaborating in any way with the Southern white supremacists, would be consistent with our traditions of Civil War days by offering him a welcome asylum.

Sincerely,

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Sincerely,

Toronto
September 19, 1961

(Whitney's Branch) Joe Hansen, SWP

Dear Comrade Bill;

Thanks very much for the prompt response to our correspondence re the Hansen Latin American tour. I met Joe in Montreal where we had a lengthy discussion with Colvin de Silva about the Ceylonese section and the current situation with regards to the IC and the IS. I gave him the \$215' that has come in so far and of course they were extremely pleased. I put Byron's \$2 into this fund as I know nothing about a Robert Williams drive and offhand I see no reason why we would divert any of our limited funds in that direction at this time. Joe left on the tour today. It starts off with Jamaica goes down one coast and up the other and will take 6 months. We are not at all sure when the information will commence coming in as there are dangers of jeopardizing the rest of the tour by premature releases. We will probably if we have the money publish three or four of them from various countries as a special insert in the paper once they start coming in.

Now for various other matters you take up in your letter;

We have no information of the left gatherings that have been taking place in BC other than the sketchy comments in your minutes and an informal report by a young contact of the Toronto youth group who just returned from a short stay in the Vancouver area. And I must confess to having no ideas as to the continuation of the Argue caucus. Nothing at all was jelled here by the meeting arranged for Argue in fact there was really nothing to jell. There are a few leftists outside our ranks but they are individuals and we see no possibility of carrying forward a caucus of any kind in the near future. We have no information of anything happening along this line in Winnipeg, Montreal or anywhere else for that matter.

We would appreciate any information of developments such as you mention in your minutes--the left gatherings--- for publication in the Vanguard. We are most anxious to carry forward our column Around the New Democratic Party. As for an article for the coming issue on the TPC strike. I am supposed to be working hard on the paper right now in between other details--the dead deadline for the coming issue is next Sunday night. But would you get in touch with Malcolm to see if he has anything from anyone else on this strike coming in.

I have put the \$2 for IB's aside. I have been sending comrade Lillian a copy of every Internal Bulletin that is being circulated from here---which means to all intents and purposes every bulletin for there have been almost none in recent times of no interest to us. So you see I do not know what bulletins you would be referring to. I am sure that Lillian received copies of the International Information Bulletin March 61 and April 61. Comrade Healy sent us one copy of a couple of bulletins that they have put out asking us to see that they get distribution. I have therefore written the south to see if they are going to put them out in their bulletin as they did with the above two. I have not yet received an answer but as soon as we do we will decide. But you can be sure that anything we will get will go your way as in the past. The YSA has just put out two bulletins and since it is possible that you have no comrades in the Vancouver YS or that things are not moving yet with regards to the city executive and thus they are not available to you I am sending a set under separate cover.

The Toronto branch conference was not taped. While the comrades who gave the major reports were asked to submit them in writing we have all been pressed for time that only one did. Fortunately there are two copies--one for the file. The other I sent to comrade Bullock for the files of the joint executive there. I am sure she would be pleased to turn that copy over to you for examination.

Toronto
September 19, 1961

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The comrade who has been transferred to Vancouver is Ruth Robertson who has gone out to your city again to attend UBC. Ruth is already a member of Branch two is she not.

Unfortunately I have no knowledge of what is doing in Fair Play in Vancouver. Pat who is the membership secretary was in at noon and I asked her if any correspondence is coming in from Vancouver and she told me that there is none. Yes the Toronto branch upon request decided to allocate another person to this area which would make ~~this~~ main contribution. The national executive had their first meeting last for months just last night. and no doubt plans were made and actions set underway that will get things moving again. Since you have in your branch a member of the local executive it would seem to me that this comrade should make contact with the local director or other executive members to get things rolling out there.

Thanks for the information on the BC Fed convention and the NDP convention. Are they both being held on October 27 and 28? I am trying to get the paper back to coming off the press early in the month but each time new problems arise that have made it impossible. But I would think that the Ottawa convention issue would be a good one for the BC convention since your minutes reveal that there is a strong current in the left that doesn't fully appreciate the significance of the New Democratic Party. Glad you like the convention issue. We did not get the response that I had hoped. I had anticipated that persons would be writing into us for extra copies for circulation among friends and contacts. But we got none. Of course they are mounting a campaign against us here and I gather there also— while the national convention was a zero for us here it looks like we will have a sizeable number of comrades and contacts attending the coming Ontario convention.

It was gratifying to see that you comrades reconsidered O'Connor's motion. even though I am not too clear on its precise meaning. I take it that it means that you intend to send two comrades to ~~the~~ the city executive with a series of positions that they will have worked out with your executive. We are all looking forward to a speedy settlement of this situation

fraternally

Ross Dwoson

The comrade who has been transferred to Vancouver is Ruth Robertson who has gone out to your city again to attend UBC. Ruth is already a member of Branch two is she not.

Unfortunately I have no knowledge of what is doing in Fair Play in Vancouver. Pat who is the membership secretary was in at noon and I asked her if any correspondence is coming in from Vancouver and she told me that there is none. Yes the Toronto branch upon request decided to allocate another person to this area which would make ~~this~~ main contribution. The national executive had their first meeting last for months just last night. and no doubt plans were made and actions set underway that will get things moving again. Since you have in your branch a member of the local executive it would seem to me that this comrade should make contact with the local director or other executive members to get things rolling out there.

Thanks for the information on the BC Fed convention and the NDP convention. Are they both being held on October 27 and 28? I am trying to get the paper back to coming off the press early in the month but each time new problems arise that have made it impossible. But I would think that the Ottawa convention issue would be a good one for the BC convention since your minutes reveal that there is a strong current in the left that doesn't fully appreciate the significance of the New Democratic Party. Glad you like the convention issue. We did not get the response that I had hoped. I had anticipated that persons would be writing into us for extra copies for circulation among friends and contacts. But we got none. Of course they are mounting a campaign against us here and I gather there also— while the national convention was a zero for us here it looks like we will have a sizeable number of comrades and contacts attending the coming Ontario convention.

It was gratifying to see that you comrades reconsidered O'Connor's motion. even though I am not too clear on its precise meaning. I take it that it means that you intend to send two comrades to ~~the~~ the city executive with a series of positions that they will have worked out with your executive. We are all looking forward to a speedy settlement of this situation

fraternally

Ross Dwoson

PROSPECTUS PRESENTED TO K. MODUGALL

PRESIDENT
LOCAL 938 I. B. T. C. W. & H.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1961

Labor Donated

Toronto, Ont.

J. Skoglund, P. Kent in collaboration with Teamster caucus

For Party Members Only
Not For Public Consumption

1961-Sept23

PROSPECTUS PRESENTED TO K. MCDOUGALL LOCAL 938 I.B.T.C.W. & H

As the result of discussions with you and your arriving at the decision that Local 938 should have a planned program to follow, this proposed program was drawn up with the aid or some of the most able trade unionists in the area.

Through your own experience and the news in the papers and journals you are no doubt aware that there has been in the last period an upsurge of rank and file movements throughout large sectors of the trade union movement.

What is bringing about this qualitative change in the Union movement?

During the past 14 years of relative economic stability and well-being, a conservative sweetheart union dealing bureaucracy grew on top of the union including even the once dynamic main industrial unions such as Steel and Auto; men who were once militant fighters for the guys on the job, became business unionists — became comfortable in their well-paying jobs and working relations, even social ones with the bosses. But now the Canadian economy is in difficulty. The world market has become intensely competitive — as has the home market. The military expenditures while keeping the economy going are at the same time a tremendous drain. In order to put ourselves into a competitive position and to maintain the war expenditures, the employers are moving in against the workers. To make the workers pay for the crises of their system — that is what is behind the moves across Canada to enact laws to break the unions, to block organizing, to institute speed-up and maintain a wage freeze if not drive it down. The old leadership, fat in the posterior and between the ears, is unprepared and unable to meet the changed situation. It knows only how to make deals — but the ranks are having to resist because the cost of living continues to mount, jobs are becoming scarce. They turn to their union for protection and leadership. The role of conservative and collaborationist bureaucracy that has developed over the years when there didn't seem to be any need of militancy. But now the picture is changing in varying degrees throughout the labor movement both in Canada and the U.S.A.

Sickened by the inability of the old leadership, the murmurs that were once heard from the ranks have now grown into roars of defiance and cries for change.

The role of many labor leaders has been one of open collaboration; they have worked hand-in-glove with the same politicians and lobbyists that are attempting to emasculate the trade unions with their anti-labor legislation. On top of this their roles have been roles of agents to discipline the workers and keep them under contracts that exploit them without any opportunity for recourse.

Most of the labor leaders of today are thoroughly bankrupt of any ideas or means how to lead the workers in a militant struggle in the days to come.

Now with the ever-decreasing markets and competition reaching staggering dimensions, the companies wish to use the labor of the workers to subsidize their own empire-building. But there is a contradiction taking place, although the bosses and companies are no longer prepared to collaborate with the so-called labor leaders and are taking a hard line come negotiations; the workers feel they need more to live on with the rising costs that are a built-in factor in our economic system.

Without the crumbs off the table that the leaders are able to dish out in meagre quantities, coupled with promises that things would be better soon, the old leadership is in a dilemma that can't be solved under their direction. Before it was simple, all you had to do was to compromise; but what now, when you have nothing to compromise on? Unlikely as it may have seemed in the past, the old leadership has no place in today's struggles. What is needed is a new and vibrant leadership that is prepared to come to grips with today's problems.

Not only has the old conservative type of trade unionism started to decline, but there is a cry for more democracy in unions; but again this is only a reflection of the rank's wanting to express what they feel is the best course of action during negotiations and bargaining.

If there is any doubt in anyone's mind about the importance to the ordinary rank and filer of the question if democracy, then it is suggested that they read the latest issue of Time magazine about what is happening in the Teamsters in Cincinnati, Chicago and other points. Of course, this upsurge is not confined to the Teamsters as can be witnessed by the past events in the CBRT Local 26, SIU West Coast, Pulp and Sulphite Workers and numerous other unions.

One might ask what has this generalization have to do with 938. What has taken place in our local is merely a manifestation of happenings in other sections of the labor movement. A person given to a naive approach to the problems facing 938 might try to rationalize the happenings over the past period us such, a bunch of reds are in the local and are trying to gain control for their own purposes and really there is no problem; it is only their activity that makes all the trouble. For any serious person this is a lot of hogwash.

In the first place, no matter how gifted or experienced an agitator may be, there must be a basis for their being able to organize a group about them. If there are no problems, then there cannot be a need for a solution. Secondly, this local has been progressing toward a revolt against the various bureaucracies it has been saddled with for a long time. A local that is in such turmoil as 938 has been in the throes of convulsive symptoms for quite a period. What has happened to it over the past few years, was inevitable. To rectify the situation will demand of the persons who feel they can give leadership, a program, guts and the will to take on all comers.

There is every possibility that you yourself do not see the same perspective as others, also that you do not recognize to its full extent the role that you can play in the trade

union movement. In your position as the president of a local that numbers over 5000 members, you are in a position to contribute to the labor movement a new impetus that has been sadly lacking in the past period.

As evidenced by the past performances of the organized group which we helped to give direction to, surely you are convinced that we are serious participants in the labor field and though you may not agree with us in totality surely you will concede that we would do nothing to injure this local nor the workers in general.

In your discussions with Brother JH no doubt you were made aware of the fact that serious people that follow our line have but one loyalty, that is to the working class and because of this we can never be part of unprincipled alliances or help to build machines and bureaucracies that in the final analysis are used against the same class that we are committed to.

Perhaps, and justifiably so, you have had many reservations about the role of radicals and progressives you have heard about in the trade union movement. Because of the terrible impact that Stalinism and the Communist Party has had on the trade union movement here, as well as the rest of the world, it is quite simple to understand why an uninformed person cannot distinguish between different types of radicals. Perhaps as you get to know us better and learn what we stand for as opposed to Stalinism, some of your fears will be alleviated. By the same token, perhaps we really did not understand you entirely, for there is much to be said in your credit by the positions that you have seen fit to take over the past five weeks, and no matter what comes in the days ahead, what you have contributed will always be to your credit.

To further show some of the problems that will have to be faced by organized labor in the coming period we cite from an article that appeared in the Globe and Mail recently, written by Dr. Forsey, the research department, C.L.C.: "The trade union movement's organizing job in nearly all Canadian industries is a long way, usually a very long way from being finished." Added to this statement are the ones put forward by Prof. Pentland writing in the Canadian Transport, official organ of the CBRT & GW. Prof. Pentland says there are three choices facing organized labor today:

1. Continuing along the present course, stagnant and atrophying.
2. Being engulfed and given vitality by the Teamsters Union or something like it, devoid of idealism and practising a business unionism based on the ethics drawn from U.S. business.
3. THE THIRD CHOICE IS A REVITALIZED UNIONISM EQUIPPED WITH IDEAS THAT GRIP MASSES OF WORKERS AND ENDOW THEM WITH ENERGY AND COURAGE.

You have stated emphatically that you do not agree with Hoffa's brand of trade unionism; you have also made it known that you recognize a change must take place not only in our local but in the movement as whole. With your positions known and ours

being as it is, this prospectus has been drawn up with the thought in mind, that even though you may be inexperienced in many ways, you have shown by your actions that you are capable of carrying out a fighting program if you so desire.

Our purpose being one of open frankness with you, we submit these proposals for your study, criticism and discussion.

* * * *

THE MATTER OF STARTING A PROCESS AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS AHEAD

1. Build a new Staff tied to the union and loyal to the ranks.
2. Build up an effective Stewards system.
3. Commence an organizational drive to strengthen the local and bring in new blood.
4. Integrate the local into the mainstream of labor. Affiliate with the New Democratic Party and become involved in the trade union movement. Develop an educational program, bring in speakers from the C.L.C. and the rest of organized labor.
5. Start a program to raise the level of participation and knowledge of the ranks:
 - (a) The 50-Man Committee
 - (b) A Women's Auxiliary
 - (c) Organize our unemployed
 - (d) Initiate an educational program about all phases of the union movement
6. Prepare the local so that the rank and file are able to face up to any attack from the bosses or the international:
 - (a) Build a strike Fund.
 - (b) Move towards 938's controlling welfare funds, etc. so the conservative interests do not have an overwhelming influence in any sharp conflict that develops.

TACTICS AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE NEW APPARATUS

Any military expert will inform you that it is practically impossible to build a fortress without a skilled corps of workmen, and by the same token neither can a militant union be built without administrative personnel who put the welfare of their membership above any personal ambitions. This has not been the case with Local 938. It has been plagued for years with business agents, executives and stewards who have had little on their minds but the idea of how to get something out of the local that benefited only

themselves. Most of the present administration, particularly the business agents, are no more than kept people in the local. Guys that are or the make create an unhealthy atmosphere as soon as a union becomes involved in a crisis.

For these people are buyable and present the leadership with another problem to cope with when the pressure is being brought to bear from other quarters. Not only are these people loyal only to their pay-cheques but usually have nothing on the ball when thrown into a struggle that involves applying the tactics of trade unionism that has taken many years of militant action to hammer out. It is better to have people around that may not be as well versed in the legal aspects and the wheeling and dealing techniques employed by the opportunists. A worker who shows signs of understanding the basic reasons why trade unions exist and is committed to the leadership out of respect for the principles that the leadership is trying to promote among the ranks will in the end prove to be worth a hundred of the wheeler-dealer types. We need a new union apparatus from top to bottom — that is loyal to the union, tied to the men, that is militant.

The same situation exists with the stewards. Elections must be held regularly with the ranks if they feel it necessary, practising the right of recall, for it is well known that the companies have a policy of buying off stewards by giving them opportunities not afforded other members on the job. In many cases as you probably know, the stewards are bought off without their conscious knowledge, and in the process of their being blinded to the needs of the membership they are supposed to serve, they become the agents of the companies. Except in rare cases the militancy of the stewards starts to decrease if there is no direction or perspective given to them from the leadership.

No matter how the old machine in this local is patched and repaired it can do no more than contribute to the keeping of the status quo. If the local is to move forward and take on a new dynamism, there is no alternative but to change its character by changing its personnel. No matter how much you as an individual push the agents they will only do what is in their opinion enough. Again the consideration must be taken that it is you that must take the responsibility for your staff. If you are not guilty of the actions of your agents in tact, you are considered to be by virtue of your office.

Your role in the coming period must parallel that of a surgeon to is faced with a cancerous patient; surgery must be applied quickly and cleanly, for what benefit would it be to the patient if all that was done was an administering of an aspirin?

* * * * *

ORGANIZATION

Nothing would be more beneficial to this local than instilling into the membership a feeling of growth and activity. There have been approximately 20,000 members pass through this local and we have managed to salvage only 5300 members after all this

effort. The potential membership of this local should lie somewhere in the vicinity of 10,000 to 15,000 members in the coming period. But to accomplish this task it is necessary to give some type of inspiration to the potential members. The best way to accomplish this is to become a local that new people want to be associated with. To build this type of feeling it is necessary to have organized activities. The 50-Man Committee is a step in the right direction. The newspaper because of its line will have an effect on both the old bureaucracies and the ranks in other locals and unions. By becoming a controversial issue, it will help put 938 on the map, for no better proof of your effectiveness can be shown than the cries of the conservatives in your own membership and those in leadership positions in other sections of the labor movement.

As the stewards are replaced with more militant types, a stewards' body should be set up which will help the leadership maintain a relationship with their rank and file. Not only will the leadership be able to keep aware of the happenings in all the barns (trucking company garages –ed.), but it will also help to check on the business agents and how they are serving the barns and the contract. This type of arrangement also gives the ranks the opportunity democratically to give direction to the leadership when the membership is faced with a crisis in any of the barns.

A stewards' body becomes the sounding board for the leadership's principled stands, and helps solve problems collectively – without the responsibility of mistakes being placed on one person's shoulders. Besides, in the exchange of information both benefit the other. Anarchy (as opposed to unity) is a disease in this local and must be destroyed before it destroys the effectiveness of the union as a body. Decentralization of responsibility by setting up bodies like the stewards' is one of the most effective antidotes.

Your statements that you are prepared to go all the way to win a decent contract is another factor in helping to build this local, for if this local comes out of the negotiations with a contract that is more than mediocre it will have more effect to the enlarging of this local than any other single item. But to try for a good contract it is necessary to have the membership in solid accord and prepared to back you up. Organizing the unemployed is one of the best methods for ensuring support for your stand on the 40-hour week. The unemployed can be an asset to this local in many ways, on the picket lines, to strengthen your hand against the conservative elements who will no doubt vacillate back and forth as the pressure becomes more extreme with negotiations. But foremost must always be the thought that we must do something for these brothers who cannot do much for themselves. As a labor union we should make it our duty to protect all the members of this union whether employed or unemployed.

During all these new innovations and additions to the local there will bound to be a steady growth of the militancy of the membership, for you will have given them a perspective which they have never experienced in the past. It will be your job as a leader to give strength to the new rise of unity and power the members will feel.

The 50-Man Committee should be kept up to strength by replenishing it is the more inactive members drift away or a show of weakening desire on their part appears. From this committee will develop members that are prepared to follow out the program and the direction you aim give to it.

A successful application of this program needs direction and leadership. The leadership and the necessity of action can be given by you but there also are practical measures that have to be taken, such as to educate the membership as to the nature of the leadership and the necessity for their support. Educationalists should be organized with some name members of the trade union movement being brought in to speak and give lectures on basic trade union operations. An atmosphere of concern for one another should be created by various activities that bring the members closer in contact with one another. An effort should be made to collect the monies owed throughout the local. For this revenue would help defray the new expanses that may be incurred during the coming period. You should break the local out of the isolation that it is in now. Arrange to have yourself and/or the members to appear at functions that can help to put us in the mainstream of the labor movement. Instill a feeling of campaigning in the local. A new atmosphere must be felt, something that is alive and vibrant.

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The workers of Canada are realizing that we cannot win the battles with management on the economic front alone but that it is necessary to move onto the political front with a party of their own, a party that can take power and organize and administer the country in their own interests.

This is a long past due development.

All the major unions are giving a hand, swinging in behind the NDP. We must place 938 firmly behind the NDP and participate fully in this process. With ND Party can come a unity not only of all labor, but a fusion of labor's forces with workers not organized: white collar, pensioners, working-farmers — labor can lead the nation.

Through our participation incidentally we can overcome the isolation from the rest of the labor movement.

Generally, the rest of organized labor supports the new party and it becomes a tactical necessity for us to be in no matter for what reasons. The labor-fakers are getting the party into gear and what their personal motives may be, the fact is that the workers now have a party of their own, they have made a complete break with the old-line parties who in the past have by-passed the needs and wants of the majority of people, the workers. If you feel that the Cotterills, Lewises and McDonlds are building the new party to further their own ends, that is not the reason of thousands of workers now; and tens of thousands shortly are going to the new party. The workers need the NDP and we need to get into it

to participate in the efforts to make sure that it serves its proclaimed aims. You can't fight the fakers as well from the outside as you can from the inside.

YOUR EDUCATION

In the coming struggles it will be necessary for you to arm yourself with the greatest amount of knowledge that you can acquire. It is imperative that you are up to date on all the happenings in the trade union movement. Clippings must be at your finger tips of all the current events and happenings in the labor movement not only in the Canadian field but also in the U.S. and Britain.

You must learn how to develop your oratorical ability and how to conduct meetings at which you preside in a democratic way without giving your opposition the advantage of your inexperience.

You must start to read about the history of the struggles of the labor movement in the past as well as books that are about the subject currently. The little time at your disposal is a barrier but if you could at least train yourself to take one half hour a day to read, then you would be doing not only your membership a service but yourself.

Discussions with people that are serious about the problems in your local can be of benefit. No one suggests that you must follow other ideas instead of your own blindly, but discussion can be the basis for development of collective action.

September 24, 1961

Dear Farrell

Here is an item that the teamsters asked me to send to you.

A very odd development. One day I told JH that the type of struggle we were involved in with the president of 938 was chicken-shit—that he appeared to have no direction and if things continued this way the local would be back in Hoffa-receivership. I suggested that he attempt to arrange a couple of meetings with the president to talk things over with him-- see what makes him tick, and see if we cannot come to some understandings. He grabbed the opportunity.

We are now working hand in glove. The first proposition we put to him was this 5 man rank and file committee. He took it up. We appointed 15 another group tainted somewhat by Catholic action appointed 15 and Mc D appointed 20. As we went over the list suggested by the other group and discussed who Mc D would be appointing it was apparent that the 35 outside of ours were but for a few exceptions the better elements in the local-- some of them perhaps conservative minded but generally through inexperience and the times we live in. Since then he has taken up proposition after proposition as we put them to him. My impression of Mc D is that he is a worker-leader, rough crude hewn who has a feeling of ~~maximum~~ loyalty to the men and the local, ~~maximum~~ suffers from a certain vaingloriousness. He has a very healthy hatred for lawyers and the shyster smoothy apparatus men around the Canadian Labor Congress and the New Democratic Party. AND he is receptive to our ideas is put simply before him. It would appear that he has never ever before seriously thought about anything, ~~maximum~~ but he is now reading Lens' 'The Crisis of American Labor' and I am getting him a copy of 'American City'.

The enclosed prospectus was drawn up on his request. The caucus had a long talk on the situation in the local in which I tried to give them some leads and this is more or less a transcription of it. In many parts it is repetitious however that is because while I made additions here and there I didn't want to cut up or cut out very much of JH's as he has worked very hard on it and of course on the whole new development.

Looks like we will be affiliating the local to the NDP. Here is the first issue of the paper--official organ.

When you have time you might drop JH a short line about this development. We are now putting the pressure on McD to take JH on staff

fraternally

Ross

September 25, 1961

Dear Ruth and Reg:

I received a letter from Harold this morning telling us that there is going to be a meeting Wednesday night—I hope that this gets there in time to be of some use.

He enclosed a copy of a sheet titled Branch 1 proposals for reorganization of the Vancouver Party work. I hope that these few hurried and therefore not too thought out comments are of use.

2) We here are opposed to acceptance of any concept that this executive is somekind of temporary body to which one can have an on-again off-again relationship. This is a permanent body of the party with executive authority subject to the National Committee..that is so far as anything is permanent. Its functions, its character and objects are clear and are not at all subject to alteration and termination by the participating groups. Representation is another matter. Offhand i can see no reason why representatives from one or the other branch could not be recalled by that branch at anytime. ~~then again~~ then again it might be desireable to have new elections at some specified time say once yearly--I wouldn't argue about that

3) I am opposed to this idea of committees for this that and everything else. This would be the quickest way to kill the District Executive and to paralyze all our work. What the hell is the executive going to discuss and decide upon with all these committees. Since we are serious about the project there is no reason at all why the executive cannot strike off someone in either one of the branches to be the literature agent---Lillian for instance who could, should an occasion require it, be invited to the DEC to discuss any particular problem, same for FPFCC of course when advisable all members assigned to FPCC work should meet together.

There is one thing clear to me--that they should be brought to understand that the LSA exists, with forums, with functions of a public character and while ~~they~~ only those persons we choose are publicly committed to membership they have to support these functions and help to build them up. In this respect the hall committee is very important.

In my opinion we have the same old stuff here. Even though they are not actually posed as ~~unacceptable~~ last times ultimatum, they are unacceptable terms and conditions. But we have something now that is concrete and discussable, and upon which we can come to an understanding or break off relations.

I think that it is very necessary that we put forward our views without heat or scathing and clearly. One of the worst things we could do would be to get into arguments about the past and the immediate present.

We should discuss the propositions, comradely, firmly and in an educational way. Perhaps it should be taped or if not taped recorded in such a way that both agree upon its accuracy. For in my opinion, but without prejudice, we are now at the end of affairs with those who are the leadership of Branch 1. Yes, I hope that we can keep the discussion on the immediate propositions, for we will in all probability be speaking for the record.

fraternally



Ross

Dear Ruth;

(Found in Sept. 1961)

Received your several short notes lately and will take them up and several other matters in a few days.

(FWD)

Enclosed are a few items that should be of interest to the comrades; the Ukrainian items is the only copy we have left--published by "D for one of the big barns with many who only read to this language. The Italian leaflet provoked Mr. Irvine to make the statements to the Globe. No one was interfered with distributing as the paper said. Got a very good reception. Some Italians around us and the "P upon failing to get the CP and New Party gang to put anything out asked us to. I wrote up the leaflet and they translated. Italian population massive in Toronto now. In fact FPFCC will probably have the ~~xxxx~~ speech by Prof Stewart translated into Italian--may develop some influence in this direction as there are several Italians who are friendly to us.

Fraternally

FWD = Caucus newsletter

Teamsters Toronto Local 938

ROSS

October 5, 1961

Dear John; *Riddell (Germany)* *(Riddell)*

It's now or not for a couple of weeks away. I am off to the Ontario NDP convention Saturday morning for the weekend and then will be into the next issue of the paper. The Ontario draft NDP constitution is more bureaucratic and the program more reformist than the August national convention documents. They have been moving very boldly against us as you would gather from the editorial in the last issue of Vanguard. Ernie's membership has been held up and now we know they are going to challenge his credentials--the trade unionists in his club say they will fight on this but seeing is believing. Peter Schultz' membership has been held up along with Cliff's. Bob's credentials didn't come through with appropriate apologies--and so it goes. Nonetheless we will have 5 or 6 delegates along with three or four close friends with whose aid we will as best we can create a climate to allow leftists to come out of cover and locate us. They have not written into the constitution their McCarthyite provisions with regards to delegates from unions however the LSA and Trotskyism may well be a big issue. We will be taking a mimeograph machine along with us.

And now we hear that Williams is in Cuba. They RCMP have been bothering everyone whom they know to be associated with Fair Play--they know he was in Canada--and so they didn't get their man--quite a relief. The Monroe case has become a big one in the US. We have set up a committee here to feel out the possibilities--Pat is just about done with a big mimeograph job we have been working on to see if we can interest Canadians and raise funds. And of course Fair Play is underway again--tonight there is an executive meeting--Dick will be in attendance--we hope that we will get off ~~OK~~ with a bang on the campus. Saw Dick for the first time in action last Sunday when we met to discuss our role in the convention. He had gone through the documents and I thought his suggestions and ideas excellent. Sue R is upstairs right now--they are talking about the handling of a leaflet for circulation to the Ottawa CUCND marchers. Sue has joined the YSA and the leaflet--a joint effort of Dick and Cliff is a good one.

Good to hear about the various connections you have made with Junglass, Pearce Healy etc. I had the pleasure of meeting Colvin de Silva of Ceylon last month. He was in Montreal and Joe Hansen came up for two days of lengthy discussion about many matters but primarily about Ceylon and the internal movement. I came away with a much better insight into the problems there. We have re-established connections. We didn't get their English paper for so long as what with two elections within six months they had had to let it drop--it is not their important paper--that is Singalese. You recall we publicly dissociated ourselves from what we heard was a coalition policy they had adopted with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. This policy was adopted over deSilva's opposition and in his opinion did not reflect the true position of the party ranks. Fortunately it proved inoperative as the SLFP won an overall majority in the July election. Since then we voted against the government's budget and its anti-working class taxes--the CP voted for it. When it arrives I will send you a copy of the history of our movement there. Inspiring and de Silva a remarkable man--island's top criminal lawyer, parliamentary whip, chairman of the trade union congress and so on. When their youth paper arrives I will send you a copy--10,000 members.

So what do you think of the Newsletter.? Looks to me that they are on a left bender--a very serious one which bodes ill. Did I send you the one reporting their conference. The reports were of such a character that you would never think they were oriented to the Br LP but were preparing all the grounds for a split and the setting up of an independent party. Jammed packed with material on the essentialy of the Marxist party. Do we need to convince ourselves? And I see

that despite the obvious falsity of their past positions on Cuba they are still carrying them forward. I wondered what world they were living in when I read the article on the suppression of Voz Proletaria and they warn the CP to watch out, Castro will be after them, next. And then all those articles against the centrist danger. We have an excellent group in Britain, proletarian based, with some top flite intellectuals like Kemp. Hard to understand these developments. I gather that the Socialist Leader has sensed the widening gap between the SLL and the SWP and written a scurrilous article. Perhaps what with all the correspondence coming to you from there you have some insight on this

Now I wont send you subscriptions to the Vanguard and Militant until you reply to this letter for in your request you failed to suggest to me that you had in anyway taken into account the question of security. I have been sending you this material first class although I do not know that this is necessary. Yes I will send the IB's to you first class as they come out. Read your translation of the key passages in Child of the Revolution by Leonhard. You are an excellent translator. Your reaction was the same as mine when I happened to come across the book a couple of years back. I immediately wrote a letter to the Militant to tell them what a terrific item there was there for their next financial appeal—what a source of satisfaction for all those who have done what was necessary to put out the paper. A new book came in the other day containing an essay by Leonhard on international communism along with other essays--on the communist(Stalinist) movement—not very profound. The German language student paper is coming in. Very interesting typographically--unfortunately about the only thing that I can read in it is the Tribune advertisement in English. But I handed a copy onto a contact of ours interested in German. And now I see that I ave no space to comment on your August 31 letter of progress...except to say that I am sure that you are taking advantage of this situation you are in to develop a ground-in Marxism. Is there anything that I can send you since there is a dearth of German Marxist material. warmest regards--Ross

October 11, 1961
81 Queen Street West
Toronto 1, Ont.

Doffe (swp)

Dear Farrell;

Liang

Enclosed you will find a report that Jerry L has drawn up on the basis of a discussion that he had with Yamanishi last month. He spent some time in Hongkong also and will probably be writing up something on the situation there.

And have you received a letter yet from one of our comrade Joan Paine? We are organizing a banquet to celebrate the October Revolution. It will be taking place on November 11th -one month from today---a Saturday evening. We are wondering if it is possible for one of you to come up again. We know of course that you have many commitments and obligations. Possibly you are having the New York meeting on the October Revolution on the following evening Sunday November 12. If you were ~~the~~ the banquet speech could be a sort of test run. We of course would be pleased to pay out air fare so it is not very exhausting for the comrade.

Would you let us know just as soon as possible so that if necessary we can make other arrangements. But send any correspondence to Joan Paine and following receipt of a letter from her

fraternally

Ross

Oct 11/61

Dear Reg

better will follow

Have just expressed about 500 copies
of the August ~~Convention~~^{Vanguard} which should
be of interest to the BC NDP convention
delegates. Also sent you in the same
bundle half our stock of the USA
~~Statement~~ insert.

Distributed both the latest issue
of the Vanguard and the August issue
to the Ont NDP convention.

About 400 delegates of the 1200 seemed
to me to be more or less political - upset
the mechanics even though non political.
Enclosed is a line Dick's work. Just
managed to get it passed - will prove
invaluable to our youth work.

Brian tried to get Anti Trotskyist majority
but we managed to defeat him - very J.
Fraternally - Ross

October 13, 1961

Dear Reg;

Sorry to be so long in taking up your letters

Thought you might be interested for your own information how the negotiations ~~with him~~ are presented in Branch one minutes-

"O'Connor reported on a meeting he and Graham had with Briar on Saturday Sept 23 and that a copy of the proposals were given him. Much resistance offered by Briar but he finally agreed to a meeting of the city executive for Wednesday Sept 27 to discuss and negotiate on the basis of the proposals. This meeting has since been cancelled by a phone call from Briar and no commitment given ~~him~~ by him for anything definite for this purpose. M/C report be received as an interim report."

[REDACTED]

But some comments on your notes in letter of 29th.

Yes I do not think we should quibble on the name

I think we should make representation concessions but not parity --something like 3 to 2 but not parity and we should give them the reasons too. We should reject this stuff about 6 months....if after 6 months they want a re-evaluation, ok, but we are not accepting any limitations on our collaboration, any reservations. They have to come fully with no if ands or buts. If they want to make proposals after six months, fine, we will guarantee that we will listen and consider. They tried to confuse this whole question before with their insistent chatter about the city executive being for only six months when it was clearly spelled out that at the end of six months we were prepared to evaluate the experience and to listen and consider any propositions.

But what you call proposition 2-

I feel somewhat uneasy with regards to your comments here. I feel that it is possible that here you may be playing into certain persons in Branch one's hands. I think that it is most important that they come into the hall, that they come to the forums, banquets, socials and whatever else is held there by the District Committee. Of course everyone knows that the hall and all that goes with it is due to the efforts and initiative of Branch one. But it is after all the property of the movement, of us all. "Successful maintenance of continuity in this effort" to use your words is guaranteed by Branch two having the majority of the city or district executive. It should be the responsibility and the property of the district executive.

Either we are going to arrive at a serious collaboration or at a clean break. If it is to be a break then the grounds should be clear, nothing that we don't need to give them should be given. We want a collaboration but a genuine one--ok. We want them to participate fully in all the activities ~~of the~~ district executive takes on--and since we maintain an open organizational form called the LSA they are going to take place around the LSA's facilities, around the hall. All work of course be publicly or formally identified with the LSA or hall for security reasons

ity reasons--who will and who will not is to be decided by the District Committee but everyone has to have a sense of responsibility and pride in the hall and the events arranged to take place ~~and out~~ of the hall. After all the hall along with the paper is our public existence. If we do not bring them fully into it we only strengthen what liquidationist tendencies Branch one shows.

You take this matter up further in your rough draft....with a practical ~~approximation~~^{offer} that the hall will be available for anytime and purpose the CE decides and a practical proposition that instead of paying into the maintenance of the hall which we want them to use with us that they chip in more money to the center

I do not understand how the ~~minimizing~~ successful maintenance of continuity of the hall is jeopardized by their becoming responsible for it through the city executive which Branch 2 will have the majority of, and on the basis of their ability to contribute. I assume that we would attempt to continue to raise the same amount of money as before and should Branch one fail to meet its obligations to the hall would be prepared to kick in the necessary amounts. The person formally responsible, the person in formal control of the hall with the landlord would of course be someone from Branch two, probably the same person as now. What risk would Branch two be taking?

I am quite sure that we will get a much bigger contribution from Branch one for something that they are immediately involved in than the center, 3000 miles away

I just don't get the argument and I am afraid that I know how this proposition will be interpreted not just by Bill but by anyone in either branch who really wants to overcome the differences if it is at all possible. My reaction, as you can see would be all the other way. Let's make them responsible for the public existing form of the movement, let's bring them to us. And let's show who is really responsible, serious.

The last paragraph on Prop 2 you say "Utilization of hall for functions of Branch 1 is ruled out." If they want to, if it is convenient why shouldn't Br 1 use the hall for their branch meetings? I would suppose there would be no other functions that they would be carrying out separate and apart from Branch two.

Read the information on the trade union conference with considerable interest.

Braaten's comment "got to get right down to cases now and work out a slate, that's the important thing" would seem to characterize the whole thing pretty well. By and large much of the personnel doesn't seem to be an alternative in any way to the BC Fed leadership. I don't know what kind of program they could draw up when in their own unions where they have the responsibility of leadership most of them prove themselves to be no different except in words from the BC Federation leadership. On the big issue--the key issue--we just have no common grounds with the CP element--the New Democratic Party.

Mari to come

October 19, 1961
81 Queen St West
Toronto, Ont.

Gabriel Glazer (Montreal)

Dear Gab;

I am not sure what Socialist Press is but Press mimeographed legal size is Red Young's periodical. And so not knowing what Socialist Press might be I am unable to send you any sample copies.

You must have wondered about my failure to answer your very interesting and important question of a couple of months ago. It came just before the NDP Ottawa convention so I thought that I would leave off answering it until we had had that experience--and now we have the Ontario NDP convention experience--I attended all the sessions, and am writing up a fairly detailed report and evaluation for this issue of the Vanguard.

There was no left tendency at the Niagara Falls convention outside the immediate influence of the Vanguard --individuals in basic agreement with the Vanguard. I feel that I know the basic forces in the Ontario NDP quite well. There were of course leftists other than LSA's but they are a pretty poor lot at this time anyway, they are individuals with no type of cohesion at this time and I ~~would~~ feel fairly confident on the basis of past experience that there is little possibility of them developing any cohesion --they are a dying elements. The promise of the new party was concretized in the attendance of I would say about 300 delegates who appeared to have had no previous political experience. This new elements plus the various differences within the CCF-NDP and trade union machines defeated some of the objectives of the latter. But they were not responsive to the left either. They are as yet political inexperiences--in a way a political. We need to live a little yet.

In a few weeks we will have the BC experience. Four years ago when in BC I had the opportunity to meet a fairly representative cross section of the left.....in the meantime we saw them strut their stuff at the Ottawa convention and there is information of the left caucus meetings that have been held in the past month or so. Aside from those grouped around the Vanguard and the LSA there is little for the future from the old left. Weaver for instance wrote us a note a few weeks back attacking the Vanguard for supporting the NDP and his view is not to be written off as that of an old man. The Young group and the Stanley Park group are sectarians--they don't at all share the positive approach to the NDP of the Vanguard. I feel that I am merely stating a fact when I say that the viable forces of the left--those presently known and with any kind of effectiveness at this time are grouped around the Vanguard and the Vancouver LSA. ~~kmkxmxmix~~ I am now talking about currents--not individual

Of course this leaves Quebec and I must say I was quite impressed

by what I saw of Quebec at the Ottawa convention. There appear to be some substantial and very promising forces around the Quebec CUCND and the NDP. I had the pleasure of a few words with Alex K and since then a couple of our youth comrades moved around CUCND circles during the recent conference in Montreal. You see we have no real contact with Quebec.

For information of this key area I have been anticipating hearing from you.

The most promising areas in Ontario right now is the youth movement. The two Toronto groups are left and very dynamic

fraternally

Ross Dowson

October 20, 1961
81 Queen Street West
Toronto 1, Ont.

Valoree Smith
Calgary

Dear Friend;

It was certainly a pleasure to receive your letter and attached article which you will have noticed we published in our Mid-September issue along with a letter of a far different character from a trade union leader in the Port Arthur area.

A few months back when we heard of your loss of employment because of your sympathetic comments on the Cuban revolution we wrote it up and urged popular protest. Until your note we had heard no further word about your case. Where does it stand now? Being well acquainted with the trade union leadership I doubt that they did much more than make the record. Since I gather that you are a member of Fair Play probably you are acquainted with the running debate that Angus Macphee of Prince Rupert carried on with Claude Jodoin on the question of Cuba. But the CCF-NP forces in Alberta appear to be of better stuff--better than the trade union leadership and for that matter the run of the mill CCF leadership. I am referring to William Irvine, Professor Mardiros and Johnson. I would think that they would be prepared to carry the case further.

It was certainly a pleasure to read that you came across the Vanguard at the Ottawa convention and that you are a member since I gather you were a delegate of the New Democratic Party. I am going to have a hard time getting used to this name rather than The Labor Party. I have been in Calgary on two or three occasions on tour during which I and my associates in the League for Socialist Action have attempted to make contact with trade unionists and socialists of whatever tendency. On each occasion I have had the impression that the left is very weak in Calgary, considerably more so than in Edmonton and even certain communities such as Lloydminster. We did meet a couple of persons who seemed to be fairly enthusiastic partisans of socialism such as Mrs Else at 2220 --Third Ave N.W. and George Ellinson at 2014-9th Ave SE. and a Sam Dworkin, a pressmen whose brother I think it is who runs a newsstand of a broad character there. Do you know any of these folks. Possibly they could be stimulated to do some serious work for the NDP and in the NDP for a socialist policy.

And now that you have read our convention issue and another issue I would very much appreciate knowing your opinion of the Vanguard. But particularly the Vanguard's evaluation of the Ottawa convention since you were there having the same experiences, witnessing the same events. What is your evaluation of the movement and the various currents and tendencies. A couple of weeks ago I was able to attend the Ontario convention and I would say that to an amazing degree it affirmed the excellent prospects of the movements as we saw them at Ottawa and at the same time our evaluation of the tasks before the socialists. It was

an extremely well attended convention--some 1200 delegates and about 400 more than expected. But I will say no more as the Vanguard will be out in a few days with a fairly rounded coverage of this convention.

The Vanguard is widening its connections across the country but as you have perhaps noticed we very weak on developments in Alberta and particularly in the Alberta NDP. We would particularly like to make our column GOINGS ON AROUND THE NDP broader and reflecting developments in such areas as Alberta. Anytime you have any material that you think should be brought to the attention to our readers we would certainly like to receive it--even if it is in the form of bare notes

and how do you manage to keep up with developments in the town of Calgary. We have an excellent bookstore here in Toronto which has so much material on Cuba other areas of interest and theoretical importance that I tend to get overwhelmed. Under separate cover I am taking the liberty of mailing you a copy of a magazine that I think you will find stimulating.

Looking forward to hearing from you my opportunity to ~~maximum~~
put pen to paper.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

October 22, 1961
Toronto, Ont.

Dear Ruth;

I am taking up your letter right away. I have just come back from the printer where I found that not so much as a scrap has been set so the pressure is off today for the last article or so. Furthermore the contents of your note are of such a character as to require being grappled with right away.

I fully appreciate the problem that homosexuals, particularly if they were to conduct themselves with ~~in~~ a branch in a demonstrative manner could create for that branch and the party as a whole. I understand they had a problem of this type to the south in the California area a while back which required some drastic moves.

However it seems to me from a careful reading and re-reading of your letter that there is little substantial material here to come to grips with. We have known Ken G for sometime now, he was in Toronto for a period and has been active in the left in BC for years. This is the first suggestion of this type that I have heard with regards to him. The source of the information is Tom. On the basis of my own experiences with Tom I do not at all consider him a reliable source of information, quite the contrary. Aside from his own problems he is no longer associated with Branch 1 I understand. I do not know the reasons for his severance of relations however this situation along with my own past experience with him makes anything he says about Branch 1 and its members and contacts suspect.

I have asked Jerry about Jean F. I notice that Tom is the person who raises the RCMP connection and that ~~you~~ this was news to you. It is also news to Jerry. Jerry says he had a good impression of Jean F. I see that you "know on his own say so that he was some kind of operative inside the Mine Mill." I do not know what operative means although I know what it infers. Jerry tells me that Jean F as he recalls was a business agent or had some minor post in a Mine Mill local in BC and that according to him he bucked an attempt of the leadership of that union to impose a rotten settlement on this local. Yes, he recalls that he is a person with some kind of nervous difficulty. Tom from your note is the person who says that Jean F and I gather Norman C are "queers" around Kenny" It may well be but there is very little to go on here it seems to me.

That stuff about the RCMP and police pressure coming from Tom is old stuff. I recall when he was here some years back he saw the RCMP behind every lamppost. He wouldn't take books from the library which incidently we were selling to anyone wanting them because the RCMP was peering over his transom and going through his bureau---would they associate the content of the books with him or what I don't know but he continually created a hunted and illegal atmosphere around the party which as you know is the quickest way to paralyze a small movement. There is at least doubt about Jean F whether he is a homosexual, an alcoholic ~~and~~ an RCMP agent, a mentally ill person. But in the case of Bradley my own experience tells me that he is a person who is seriously ill mentally. If we had investigated the various statements that he made we would have tied ourselves up in knots and besides made fools of ourselves as I soon came to the conclusion after listening to many of his tales that there was nothing in them.

The boy cried wolf, wolf and finally when the wolf really did appear no one listened and the flock was destroyed. Yes, it is not excluded that this time Bradley has something

but I do not see any substantial evidence in your letter. Unfortunately I know nothing about a Norman C and the initials mean nothing to Jerry.

Tomsis the sole evidence in this matter and you say that you "do not even know whether Tom is correct in what he says in this instance.." I do not know either because it would appear that it is only a matter of his word. I appreciate the information but I do not see how it is at all possible to take any kind of action on the basis of this information.

I intend to file it away. I have mentioned it to Jerry as he is involved but I do not intend at this stage to say anything further to anyone. It will be unfortunate if there is ~~any~~ truth in what Tom has to say--if there is truth in it we will no doubt hear and on the basis of more substantial information we will take action. But as things stand I intend to say nothing more about it for talk of this type can be ~~most~~ as equally unfortunate in its effect.

fraternally

Ross

I see you do not know "if Jean F is one of the new recruits". Unfortunately I do not know either. Their minutes do not contain such information. But somehow I got the impression that one of the recruits was Charlie's wife. I will enquire of Jerry L. Perhaps he knows since he must have attended a meeting of Branch 1. If there is any information coming from him of value I will certainly let you know.

81 Queen Street, West,
Toronto, Ontario.

November 2, 1961.

Mr. Gordon Bryden,
N. D. P.
565 Jarvis Street,
Toronto, Ontario.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find my membership application along with sufficient funds for a subscription to the paper. I of course accept and will abide by the constitution, the program, and the democratic principles of the party, and I am not a member of or a supporter of any other political party.

I am secretary of the League for Socialist Action which is not a party but as its name states an association which supports the N.D.P.

Should you desire any further information, I can be contacted at EM-6-1454.

I am looking forward to hearing from the organizer of the N.D.P. in the area in which I live so that I may help build the party there.

Fraternally yours,

R. Dowson

RD/cs

November 4, 1961
81 Queen Street West
Toronto

C.B.C.
Montreal

Dear Sirs;

Around the middle of September a very good friend of mine Colvin R de Silva was interviewed by your staff. Mr de Silva is a member of the Ceylonese parliament, the island's most prominent criminal lawyer, and was in Montreal at that time during an interval between his attending the Belgrade Conference and a Commonwealth conference in London. Mr de Silva appeared on Viewpoint but he was also interviewed for a longer period that was to go over your radio facilities sometime in the following month.

I am most anxious to obtain a copy of what was said in that interview. I made enquiries at CBC here in Toronto and they informed me that they would let me know as to the possibility. I have heard nothing from them. However an acquaintance of mine here in Toronto has heard the broadcast and it has also been heard in Vancouver.

I understand from my Toronto acquaintance that as far as he can recall it came over your Montreal facilities on a Sunday probably October 15th. It came on at 10.15 right after your news broadcast.

I would appreciate it very much if you could obtain me a copy of this radio script.

sincerely

Ross Dawson

November 5, 1961

John Riddell

Dear John;

I hear that some of my parcels bounced back to your mothers address because I did not have a n uptodate address for you. Hope you have received them all. According to my records you are right up todate on the Militant etc., your file should be complete.

r

In the latest pacel I enclosed a rare copy of James Burnham's book on the Popular Front. This should clear up the matter of ppular vrs united front quickly. Popular frontas I am sure Burnham explains very early is just a fancy name for coalition with bourgeois parties which means submergence of the working class force to the bourgeois force. Yes, the old man's Spain the Last Warning develops a brilliant metaphor from the parallelogram of forces. Return Burnham 's pamphlet first opportunity as there are no others around and I would hate to lose it.

Have you read Lessons of October? When you take up these questions you come to appreciate what a tremendous role Trotsky played. In this book Trotsky takes up the Brandler fiasco in the light of the strategy of the Bolsheviks in October. I am not too sure what you mean by these events bringing up the issue of the workers state. You will have to elucidate. I am sure that there is considerable material in Ruth Fischer's book Stalin and German Communism on this whole period. This book would certainly be available in any large German library either in German or English.

Unfortunately the question of centralism in the IIIrd International never really developed in any serious way before Stalinism swept over it. Following the success of October all kinds of centrist currents moved over to the Third International. The 21 points were an effort to bring political clarity into the situation. The first 5 years were considered to be the Lenin-Trotsky years. With the death of Lenin and the developing bureaucracy it became an instrument of Stalin to impose his policies on the national sections. The next experience with internationalism we have from 1934 to 1940 under Trotsky's guidance was not with national sections so much as with pulling international cadres forces together. The major problems in international relations and centralism were overcome by Trotsky's immense experience and prestige and authority. His assassination was a tremendous setback. One of the biggest issues at dispute with Pablo is our concept of an international, particularly in this period. Probably you know about Pablo's highhanded intervention in the French section and his imposition of a new leadership on that section., his office concept of an international which doesn't co-ordinate and collaborate with the native leadership of the national sections but hands down directives, instructions. One of the basis for the SWP's Open declaration of war against Pablo was his intervention in the internal affairs of the SWP, he supported an anti-party minority. This whole question is up for discussion in the IS-and IC---in these unity discussions which the British section is blocking with its concept that the political gap is widening not narrowing. Centralism and democracy are dialectically interrelated. You will find the formal statutes of the FI in the back pages of the Transitional Program of the 4th. Glad to send you this pamphlet---this is the most significant programmatic statement ever drawn up. Everytime

L.T.-Their Morals and Ours
Dick Fidler

-3-

read it or give a class from it I find something new and profound in it. Some would prefer Marilyn Monroe if they were given to chose the most desirable thing under circumstances of extreme deprivation---but I would reach for the Death Agonies every time.

And very happy to send you Their Morals. When you read it for the second time patiently underline the theoretical points established as distinct from the tremendously profound and witty polemical points. A devastating polemic. But even more important the most penetrating Marxist writing on morality. In fact I only know one other Marxist writing on this subject--Kautsky's Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History.

Here are some prices-- Lenin collected works are selling at \$1.50 each
Capital at \$2.00 each
Correspondence at 1.50

I would suppose that all the other Moscow publications are about the same so these few should be sufficient a guide ~~maximum~~

Well I wouldn't trust the Stalinist editors very far but after all they have all the manuscripts in their possession so it is take theirs or nothing. I was of the opinion that their main technique was to withdraw or make available various items as they served their purpose--that generally speaking they did not tamper with the texts of the basic writings. But I recall reading an item in Brian Pearce's column which revealed a most shocking manipulation of the actual text of something by Krupskaya. Of course there is also the footnote's technique of distortion. No I don't trust them but I will buy their wares anyway.

Never heard of Wehring's Histroy of the German Social Democracy. I do not think it has ever been translated into English. How long is it and do you think it would be worthwhile. The only thing I have ever read of his is his Marx biography. I have a short essay of his called the Lessing Legend but have not got around to reading it.

And what is this about Lenin's Socialism in One Country policy? Stalin's archivists scoured every bit of Lenin's extensive writings ~~maximum minimum~~ and came up with two fragments from an article written in 1915 and another written in 1923 in defence of the theory of national socialism. They ignored everything else that he wrote on the question of the international character of the revolution and distorted these two fragments out of all recognition. The united front was a tactic devised to overcome the weakness of the Communist Parties, to fuse its forces in struggle for a common objective with the forces of the social democracy, ~~maximum minimum~~ to mobilize the most powerful hitting force and to demonstrate its superiority to the masses and thereby win the masses to its ranks. This tactic became essential when social democracy managed to reestablish itself and retain its hold over decisive sectors of the working class. I see that this note of yours is tied in with the 1923 fiasco so maybe what you want to read is not only Lessons of October but the even more important work The Third International After Lenin.

You will be pleased to know that the youth group, the YSA, gives every appearance of really moving. It has had some solid growth. Dick has proven to be a really effective socialist. He told me that he found the considerable reference to him in the last issue of the Vanguard embarrassing. However we were only reporting events accurately. Very aggressive, dynamic, considerable skill in maneuver. Of course a few mistakes due to his inexperience--at Niagara he called for nationalization on everything, the works, not just the basic means of production and this was picked up many times by the opposition. I don't think and in fact the branch agreed that we shouldn't have pushed forward that slate. But he did a tremendous job

Sue is also a very fine addition, very serious intelligent, responsible. And so too with Tony who is in the most forward position now that she is on the NDY Ontario executive although the least experienced. Quite an effective group all told. Cliff has been rejected as a member, and they were holding up Jim O as he is alleged to be a CPer. And there is an excellent very young fellow by name of Harry. From all evidence now available we will have a real force in operation upon your return. There is considerable possibility in the East and West End youth groups.

The adult movement is not really moving. They have been holding nomination meetings here and there and they have rallied a really big support but there is as yet no serious day to day work taking place.

Found your report on the doings in the Pabloist circles quite interesting. No you are mistaken --you know much more than I do about such matters. For I know nothing at all. ..nothing at all about any division or dispute between Pablo and Germain, about the French and the FLN etc. Hasens' trip through South America is well underway. Pierre Frank supplied him with all the connections they have. He sent us a fairly detailed report of the situation in Chile. Joe's impression was that ~~they~~ we have a cadre there that is as mature ,as able as the SWP's. They work under terrible conditions---terrible poverty and continual harassment from the police, army, etc. I do not think anyone really knows the situation in Latin America and now Joe H is getting to know it and will soon be sending in analytical reports . According to Joe when I met him in Montreal to discuss the situation over with Colvin de Silva of Ceylon many of the groups are divided in Latin America. The situation is quite confusing and in Argentina I think he said the group that supports the IC is involved in a deep entry in the P ronist movement whereas the IS group is outside, conducting independent work running candidates and is very effective. Things are on their head. But I will forgo any fyrtuehr comments until we have something to put our teeth in.

Since your last letter enclosed one for Ernie to be forwarded I take it that you know that he is at school. Got a note from him today with bits of information about the big TV braks they are getting in the NY elections,

Much more to say however it is getting late and I must fold up the tent.

warmest regards

Ross D.

November 7, 1961

New York

Dear Farrell; (Doff, SWP)

After reading Joe's letter from Le Paz I had to go out and get this money order to send you a late contribution to the modest campaign we put on for the Latin American tour. Nothing much but I assume some more is going to have to be sent. I do not know how serious the financial situation is, however we have a few dollars in the Toronto branch treasury which I think we could afford to let go. Let me know.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter we received from GH. There is a copy also for JPC should you want to send one along. I do not know what truth there is in the information but those are arrogant statements "The sooner the Trotskyist movement sorts out some of these people politically the better it will be..... a split is unavoidable....in fact it is desireable if it will release the most militant of the young people frojm the trap into which they have been lead by people such as Perara and de Silva." And then to top it off there is that presumptuous comment about our not modeling ourselves on the LSSP's achievements---I do not see any parallel between our entry work and the LSSP's activities.

Since this letter arrived we have received another. In part it is a protest about some alleged rumours that Jerry Liang is alleged to be circulating but it is primarily a challenge addressd to you and to us to take up the material in the International Bulletin. It is in this letter that he wants to know if the bulletin is being reproduced and circulated.

I think that the bulletin must be circulated

I think that there must also be a reply. made particularly to the material that appears in International Bulletin No 6. I have seen nothing in your minutes with regards to this matter. From Peng's letter of September 6th I note that there was a meeting at the end of last month where your resolution The World Struggle for Socialism was to be discussed. We have heard nothing about this meeting, whether it came off and its outcome. Are you waiting for a report of this meeting before intervening?

Would you let us know your thinking on these matters

fraternally

Ross Dowson

E4-1961-RD *Van*
Office
COPY

November 16, 1961.

Comrades:

At its meeting of November 14, 1961 called to consider recent developments in Vancouver with regards to Branch One and its relations to the city executive set up by our last national convention the political committee made the following decision:

To dissolve Branch One as a branch of our party and to issue this appeal to those comrades in the branch who desire to continue membership in our party to immediately make application to what has been known in the past as Branch Two.

The situation in Vancouver has long been intolerable and cannot be allowed to continue by any movement that is serious in its aspiration to be Bolshevik. The whole nature of our party, its discipline, the authority of its conventions and its leading bodies struck off by conventions has been involved.

No matter what can be said as to the origin of the situation, past responsibilities and so forth, Branch One has been responsible for making a mockery of the long standing procedures by which our movement guides itself.

Branch One violated their commitments to the national convention last fall with regards to the city executive body set up to govern party work in the Vancouver area when after a specified six month period, instead of making an evaluation of their experiences on the CE and presenting propositions which could make the work of the CE more fruitful for the socialist revolution, presented an ultimatum to the CE, and when it was not complied to Branch One withdrew.

Subsequently Branch One defied and even challenged the right of the PC to request that they return to the CE. Following extensive correspondence, the PC, with the authority of the NC, finally instructed Branch One to "return to the city executive, that it re-establish the collaboration that existed before its withdrawal and that it present any proposals that it sees fit as to how to make this body a more effective instrument of our convention decision". The PC instructed the CE convener to arrange a meeting within a specified period of time and declared that failure to comply to this decision "would constitute a violation of the decision of the highest body of our party, and a defiance of the authority of the national committee which has the responsibility between conventions of implementing the decisions of the convention and administering the party's affairs, and would make Branch One liable to suspension from the party".

Branch One refused to comply. Still the PC delayed in taking action in the hope that they would comply and agreed some months later to further discuss the question with comrades Graham and O'Conor of Branch One at Ottawa and Toronto in early September.

The PC, wishing to investigate every possible avenue to assure a favourable outcome in the interests of the unity of our precious and all too few forces, decided to go through still another experience although any one of the following incidents and certainly their totality were grounds for immediate disciplinary action. Since last fall's convention the known leaders of Branch One refused to publicly identify themselves with the launching of a national NDP left wing caucus, the LSA

November 16, 1961.

as was decided one of them should. The branch failed to make any real contribution to the drive to sustain our major effort, the publication of the Vanguard and to aid in its circulation. They broke off all connections with the national office by ceasing to forward copies of their branch minutes.

During the Ottawa-Toronto discussions comrade Graham had no suggestions as to how to rectify the situation in Vancouver. However on the basis of what appeared to be a genuine and honest desire on the part of O'Connor the PC requested that the Branch Two representatives go through a further experience in an attempt to reconstitute the city executive with Branch One representation.

Following a series of discussions we note that the chairman of the CE, comrade Briar, addressed a letter on October 18 to Branch One's Comrade O'Connor. This letter requested that Branch one formally re-establish representation to the city executive. It clearly stated that while proposals made by Branch One for the re-organization were unacceptable all such matters were all open for discussion and possible revision. Amongst those proposals was one that Branch One have equal representation on the city executive despite its past political disagreement with the line adopted by the convention, along with a declaration of commitment to participate in the city executive, the executive body of our movement in the Vancouver area, not for the duration, but for a very limited period - 6 months to be exact. Comrade Briar requested that Branch One re-establish representation to the city executive on the basis of a two to four representation by October 26 - with a note that failure to do so would be considered by him to be rejection.

Branch One through comrade O'Connor, instead of a simple and straightforward reply to this request that it return to the city executive, responded with the claim that Branch Two was breaking off negotiations and outlined again points, in reality general and unspecified conditions, upon which it is proposed further discussions to be held.

But the time for discussion is now past. Valuable time has been lost. It is now time to affirm that our party is a serious party - a Bolshevik party. We cannot afford to lose any of the forces that have been gathered together so painfully over the past years. But neither can we afford to expend more valuable time on this matter. In actuality Branch One has placed itself outside of the party. The members of Branch One have to make a decision to return to the party. We anticipate that all those who consider themselves Trotskyists will do so individually.

They have proven incapable of doing so as a collectivity
Comradely yours,

November 16, 1961

*James P.
Cannon, SWP (Los Angeles)*

J.P.C.

Dear Jim;

Everyone here was happy to hear that the operation is a success and that it is now only a matter of nature taking its course before you will be able to look us over again with both eyes.

I am enclosing a couple of short items that may interest you.

Our leaflet to the CP hasn't got very far so far. No sooner did our distributors get into position to hand it out to an audience of some 700 to hear Lelie Morris report his version of the 22nd Congress than about 50 toughies swarmed out of the hall and rolled right over us. Morris is taking Buck's place as head of their party. The chairman announced that they had had some trouble with fascists to the "by invitation only" audience.

And no doubt you have been hearing for some years about the Vancouver situation. The enclosed correspondence will show that we have cut the Gordian knot.....I don't know if this is going to clear the way for us as it did Alexander, but we can ~~get~~ now I think get about our business a little easier.

Hoping for a speedy recovery from all the north

fraternally

Ross

November 27, 1961

Vancouver

Dear Ruth;

Have just received a copy of the joint membership application from Branch one.

This matter needs to be thought over and so is my hurried first thought. Refuse no one at this stage. I would ~~at~~ accept ~~immediately~~ those who we are all agreed have something to contribute. Invite them to the meeting. Delay on the others -- consider, think over -- accept a couple of the others we are all agreed. then continue to delay. But I am thinking right now that we should not start off with rejections -- ~~immediately~~ thus forcing them together but slowly start a process of acceptances thus cutting them off from one another.

A thought anyway.

will write in a couple of days.

fraternally.

Sam Carr himself has nominated me to a Sobell Committee as treasurer. Had a couple of interesting talks with some peripheral types. If we play our cards right we can really cut into the CP. Sent 500 copies for this work specifically to you the other day. and if we can cut into them can turn many away from them

December 6, 1961

Vancouver

Dear Malcolm

Just a short note before I have to go up to the store so that Jerry can get away early to distribute a NDP nomination meeting in his area. We also have another distribution tonight--an anti-nuclear arms meeting

Very busy right now. Last Sunday the minister at the Unitarian Church devoted his whole ceremony to the Monroe situation and Robert Williams and so their committee has now agreed to invite Conrad Lynn up to speak two weeks last Sunday. We will be putting out a notice to build up the meeting....and trying to get one of the campus clubs to arrange something if possible. Already have the NAACP here interested in a meeting ---Vern O has been doing most of the arranging. Then I am treasurer of the Sobell Committee here and having to do a considerable amount of the work as the CPers and peripheral elements are terribly inefficient. As you can see from the enclosed letter we will be holding a picketline. This is our biggest break into the Stalinists so far. I was nominated by guess who---Sam Carr. When I suggested that it might result due to certain prejudices against me in cutting down response in certain circles Carr chipped in "Some people are going to have to grow up." Had a few words with him after--all very friendly. He was looking at the NDP button that one of our youth comrades was wearing and so I made a comment that the peace tower emblem was there as a symbol of the peaceful path to socialism. He wisecracked back to the effect that he would like to see someone show him the possibility of this. I voiced surprise bout Buck so hurriedly and vigorously identifying himself with the anti-Albania campaign of K and he dismissed Buck as an old man and a bit of a clown.

But to get to the business at hand;

Have dropped a note in reply to a letter from Reg that this issues deadline is the thirteenth. He has a couple of article ideas which he will probably be talking over with you. Lloydminters comrades thought that the Sask Convention and the BC NDP convention reports were very good. in the last issue.

Yes I do not see any major problems now with what was Branch one's personell. Ruth's letter to Lillian pointing out the falsity of their group application maneuver was well taken. We are going to handle them as individuals. I have written Ruth a letter about this matter which I think meets the problem. Should they fail to make any other moves as individuals we have the choice of just ignoring them or considering the adviseability of approaching certain of them who we think have something to contribute from the point of view of getting them to join us. Now that they have made the record they may come to some agreement about having a few submit their names, persons they anticipate would be refused such as Munzer, or Graham. Then when we stall and refuse utilize this to consolidate anyone who may be tending to come into the branch. ~~This is a~~ The possibility of this maneuver makes me think that we should seriously consider striking off some on to approach the best for a discussion and then to join. This way we may well break them up. Worth thinking about I believe

Should they start to apply as individuals I think we must concede since they ~~were~~ members of the party that should they be refused they have

right of appeal to the PC

Re your comments about Lillians status. The former Branch one member in my opinion are no longer members of the party unless they are members of what is now the branch. I do not think they can be considered members at large when they reside in an area where we have a functioning branch. Lillian is another matter. I am not sure how we would determine her status in fact I am anticipating that you have had some experience in such matter over the past 40 years or so. I would appreciate it if you could find time to let me known your thoughts on this question so we can move without making any serious error.

Yes I get the Western Pulp and Paper worker. But I now no longer get Press. I thought it may not be coming out. We are sending a sample or exchange issue of Vanguard to Young. I wonder if you would ask them to start sending us our exchange copy again.

I think you are mistaken in reading into the edit protesting Soviet tests that we have jettisoned our position of unconditional defence of the USSR. Certainly not in words as we spell this position out clearly in the edit and I do not think by implication either. You say that the edit accuses the SU of provoking Kennedy and company. I have read it over again carefully and I do not see this in it. What we did do was to show that it in no way frightened the bourgeoisie, caused them to pause in their tracks but gave them added justification in the eyes of the workers to step up their arms drive. I do not think we gave anything with that ed edit to the Stalinists. They have said nothing about it so far in their press and I would imagine they are looking at this time for a handle to hit us with. In fact they have been quite silent on the whole matter--- and Endicott who is their most prominent figure in the anti-war ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ elements around them has in essence taken the same stand as we--- from the short press report of his Calagary meeting.

I would go into this further but ~~xxx~~ I feel that the argument in the edit is clear. I also gather that you get the SWP minutes where the matter has come up and been dealt with by Farrell who I think poses the matter correctly.

Sorry to hear that you did not approve of the carrying of the material that Joe Hansen has been sending in from Latin America for it would seem to me that our carrying those three articles would be the basis of the criticism that came up in the branch to the effect that that issue was too heavy foreign news. Of course we were aware of the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ unusual weight in that issue, that is why we put in the box commenting on the unique opportunity that Hansen's tour afforded us. Havent heard any comments from other sources but I would think that the Hansen material made that issue a real feature--not so much for our readers who get the Militant of course but for our other thousand readers

Re the Winch campaign--I gather from your comments that Winch has gone much further than the mealy mouthed NDP statement on NATO...that he has made statements of support of NATO nuclear armed and all. I think that ~~xxx~~ the left should make very clear its opposition--publicly--nominations passed in clubs etc. Was Winch opposed in the nomination contest. It would certainly have been good to do so regardless of chances of success--particularly on this issue. If the official nomination meeting has not been held ~~xxx~~ in my opinion we should see to it that he has an opponent on this basis.

If he has or gets the nomination I do not see how in a public way we can fail to support him---persons living in that riding that is.

Support him that is as the candidate of the NDP. Making it very clear ~~xxxxxx~~ that is not a matter of this or that person or his or her position on this or that question but that we are supporting the whole movement--its class significance. You certainly cannot support any other candidate--a candidate of any other political party including the CP in my opinion. If perchance there were considerable forces in the riding who were adamantly opposed to Winch on a correct basis -- NDP forces---and for instance we were to have the phenomenon of an independent NDP candidate OK. But the workers in Canada know ~~xxxk~~ and certainly the advanced workers know that it is not a matter of the particular candidate in the particular riding but that you have to vote party, you have to vote for a government. At best McEwen can present his vote as a protest vote. At this time however we are not placed in the position of registering a protest vote but of voting a NDP government into power. The McEwen candidature is the logic of their fundamentally false position on the NDP and we will have to expose it as such and not in anyway suggest that in this case it is justifiable--even necessary to support him because of Winch's false position on NATO.

If Winch get the nomination I think we should openly declare that we are supporting him and in a particularly loud voice despite his false, FALSE position on NATO but despite it--which I think is very effective propaganda for the anti-NATO position.

Yes, I certainly do have your article on the LPP--I never throw anything like that away. The only trouble here is that we have colossal files which are very unwieldy and are operated at various times by different persons each one of whom has a different idea where anything should be placed. I will look it up first opportunity and return it to you since you have no other copy. May be a little while but will do.

fraternally

Ross

81 Queen Street West
Toronto Ont
December 12, 1961

Vancouver

Dear George

Just a note in response to some of your comments on the Mine Mill vrs Steel situation which head up your Garment Jungle item.

It is my opinion that we should not ~~get involved~~ take any firm stand behind Mine Mill in this dispute. It certainly is a dirty business but whatever can be said about Steel can be said about Mine Mill. Of course Steel should be organizing the unorganized--of course it has pulled off all kinds of dirty tricks. But the raid is a fact which workers in the shops involved have to face up to. Interestingly enough while ~~most~~ much favors Mine Mill as the traditional union with the contracts the workers in Port Colborne voted Steel 7 to 10. According to reports here the younger workers and surface workers support Steel in Sudbury. Steel is not without a firm basis of appeal to militants.

I suppose you know that ~~max~~ Mine Mill has been signing sweet heart agreements with the bosses in Thompsonson, in Trial, in order to block the Steel campaign. I suppose you know that the brass tried to pass a motion condemning the NDP until it was pointed out that it violated the constitution --for years they have been playing around with the Tories and every other anti-working class political action force in order to hold on. Although they have been defeated in vote after vote in Sudbury the national leadership has been conducting a vicious campaign employing the most disruptive type of hooliganism. Of course the whole situation plays into the hands of the anti-labor forces but the course the Stalinists are following is a rule or ruin course. They have lost the support of the workers and by hook or by crook are trying to hold onto their posts.

I do not think that one can take a stand on this question on the grounds of such truisms as opposing raids etc. I think that you have to know what impact the whole struggle is having on the specific group of workers involved. What is the probable result in the vote---where the militants are tending to stand, etc. We have a comrade in a UE local here--a fairly big local--an acquaintance of ours is a business agent for several UE locals on the edge of the city. You would be surprised to know just what types the Stalinists have been basing themselves on. The UE in this one shop scarcely exists as a force for the bosses to reckon with--this comrade has been laid off and is now working in a shop organized by Steel. He says you really know that the union exists here--and the NDP line of Steel has widen the horizon of the workers in this shop considerably. Talk about bureaucrats--Steel is not as sharp and sophisticated as Mine Mill is. Steel has two powerful appeals independent labor political action---join the mainstream of labor.

But as I suggested when I opened this note--this is just a note--an opinion. Probably it could form the basis of a discussion in the branch ~~xxx~~

fraternally

Ross D

New York

(personal stuff)

December 24, 1961
81 Queen St West
Toronto, Ontario

Dear Hannah

(wife to Ernie Tate)
in New York?

MAX Armstrong
Veteran Socialist

Whot--yu mean to say I didn't write you to thank you for last year's calendar. Well whether we did or not everyone was very thankful every Wednesday night and sometimes several times in between. Why we even gave you a place on the agenda--last place--what's cooking the next week--your friendly reminder service--paper mailing so and so ,distribution so and so, caucus meeting so and so. Of course in some circumstances some persons weren't too thankful to be reminded nonetheless it served a valuable purpose.

And how come Colonial Press--which I take it does jobs or is part of Random House shows no office staff--how come the workers get all the breaks--thumbed through it sort of anticipating seeing you before your 200 foot square desk with a central position for that sharp little pad with your name on it. "as wondering if you have managed to hold your weight down what with all those tantalizing eating places in the New York environs.

And what happened when you saw Ernie? Max phoned me the other day to tell me that he had quite a heart attack the other night. It appears that he was up at one of his cronies' that evening and got into a discussion about the situation in India. Once an admirer of Nehru for whom Max holds no brief, now that Nehru has gone in and done what he should have done a dozen years ago with Goa this chap feels betrayed . Max stormed out in anger and in the process muttering the argument over when he got home worked himself into the attack. Well he said when the attack came and he took his nitroglycerin tablets he lay back convinced that this was the end--and he lay there he said passive completely calm ,detached ,waiting for it.

Almost went to Cuba last week but the tour was another false alarm. Have you been yet and when are you going? About four of us are going right after the YS convention which they will be attending. Our youth group has some very fine types in it . You really must come up sometime for a holiday to meet us all again, to see what progress we have made and to give us one of your candid criticisms. The air fare is cheap on the special weekends and we can easily put you up. Lots the same I am only slightly balder--just slightly. And why Jim is making a living pushing that overgrown violin around which you strated him on when you came barging in here with your guitar. Pat's Mrs Big in Fair Play. Joe 's poetry has been published in the Canadian Forum and one of Canada's more important poets told me that he has real talent and that I should encourage him. Alan's active in the teamsters and has managed despite our high dues system to accumulate enough for a car again.

So come and see us--and when are we going to see something from your hand in the pages of the ISR or Militant

warmest regards

Germany

Germany

Dear John; (Riddell)

24
December 24, 1961 (24) ✓
Joe Hansen SWP

It ~~xxxx~~ is hard to believe that a month and a half has slipped by since I received your long and extremely interesting letter. I have meant to take it up time after time but there always seems to be something coming up. ~~XX~~ But here it is Chrsitmas eve and what better evening could be devoted to writing you a letter across the seas--on the eve of a day ~~xx~~ an celebration of the earth's bounty, the equinox and the lengthening of the hours that the life giving sun will be with us, of good friendship, love and peace--until Chrsitianity took it over. But never fear the American Lutherans are putting forward the idea that the day should be dropped that it has been lost to Christianity and taken over holus bolus by the good elf Santa Claus. Even the Pope is worried. It ssems that along with the many other things that the American armed foces brought with them to Italy and left behind them they established a strong liking in that most Catholic country for the idea of gift giving and revelry, of eating well and insobriety.

I hope that Chrsitmas away from your family and your comrades here in Toronto has been a good one and that that Countess wascitz or someone else of your acquaintance introduced you in high style to the German celebration of it.

In your last few letters in which you relate some of your impressions of the European movement you on ocassion suggest that in all probability ~~xxx~~ I know this or that or know even more than you do. I would say that aside from the British ~~xxx~~ and of course the Pabloists that you know more far more than anyone here on this continent. We have no information of what the situation is in the European movement. In fact your letter, the last one was so interesting, particularly with regards to the Pabloists that I took it upon myself to have copies typed and forwarded to Cannon and New York as information. I was sure that you would not mind. The American party at one time had all kinds of information on what was going on in various sections --this was when we had a considerable number of able comrades working as seamen. However the FBI and the union brass pretty well purged us out of this field. Then for a while they had a considerable amount of money and Farrell and others used to make the odd trip which sometimes involved a lengthy stay --but those days are over. The SWP is hard up financially. So hard up that we sent them \$400 to help finance the very essential South American tour--and gave them about \$700 a couple of years back so that they wouldn't have to cut the paper down. They had to event u- lly anyway.

So you see I cannot really tell you anything about the European situation--other than broad political evaluations--you are top man here. But you want to know about the Latin American tour. Well Joe sent in a few letters in the last month--they are here before me and I will run through them pulling out what I think to be most interesting.

He starts off his Nov 6 letter with a few comments on the great value of the stay in Chile where I think I told you he was very much impressed by the movement. Bolivia was under military law when he arrived so it was extremely difficult to contact anyone. Finally came across two leading P abloists on the day before scheduled to leave. He says that the walls of building everywhere are painted with slogans for the POR(Revolutionary Workers Party) and Guillermo Lora but the Pabloites consider Lora a renegade. Joe was unable to locate Lora who had been exiled for a period

and is now in hiding as there have been big political round-ups. They claim that Lora recognized and defends the Cuban revolution but dismisses the Castro leadership and the Castro government as "petty-bourgeois." The Pabloites ~~six~~ say that he has following in the Oruro area particularly in the Siglo XX mine. As for orthodox Trotskyists they did not know of any in Bolivia. The Peruvian comrades, Argentinians nor Chilians, none of them have any live contacts in Bolivia. As for the Pabloites while they were closed lipped apparently due to "international discipline" it appears that they have something including important mining centers as Oruro.

His letter of Nov 13 deals with Chile---the POR is a very active organization with good connections throughout the labor movement but he deals only with their struggle against Pabloism. At the time of the split they did not know the differences. Never saw Cannon's open letter. First inkling something wrong in the movement was the receipt of a directive from Pablo's Latin-American Bureau without any previous discussion that they enter the SP. The party divided along three lines and decided to appeal to World Congress. The opposition to entry was not represented for financial reasons. The Congress decided entry and with this backing the entrists got almost the whole party. Fifty entered-about 5 did not. Apparently there were no real grounds to justify an entry. Many were lost absorbed and corrupted by the SP. After these losses two main groups left. One, the official, still in SP, the other left the SP a year ago. Meanwhile the orthodox 5 proceed with their open work. Now they have more than both Pabloist groups together--they have positions of great respect in the radical movement and hold important posts. The payoff- a left current developing in the SP is on friendly terms with us and hostile to the Pabloites.

Joe met with the leaders of the official Pabloite group. Very cool. Think unity of Trotskyists a good thing but must be discussion on differences of 1953-54. Wonder if we have recognized our errors. Seems that in reality discussed with reps of the Latin American Bureau--the Chileans there did little more than listen. Very hostile-searching for differences. When Hansen stated opposed to Soviet tests-he defended them as necessary preparations for the inevitable WW III--such a war inevitable and a new civilization would be built on the ashes. Joe mentioned on the side of the IC there were forces opposed to unification and that he supposed they had differences of opinion and that he possibly was one of those opposed to unification. He did not reply and conversation ended. But Joe talked later with the dissident Pabloists. They have about 15--he met them all. They were very friendly although our comrade look on them as being non-proletarian and inclined to campus work and irregular political work. They have had experiences with the Pabloite bureau..bitte about its "democratic centralism and its entryism"--hungry for information of the world movement, appears that we have a working relationship with them. Joe later reports of a subsequent discussion with these same dissident Pabloists. They reported that the Latin American Bureau is opposed to unification and at odds with Paris. Claim that Posadas run the bureau like a dictator. They consider that entryism was disastrous for Chilean Trotskyism--it revived the Chilean SP provided it with new energetic forces--some of which were completely absorbed. Our comrades have proposed unification with them and some have already carried out individual unification with us.

Three groups in Chile claiming to be Trotskyist;

- a) POR adhering to the IC of the FI led by Venezuela. Strongest recognized as a national tendency since recognized as the Trotskyist group in the Central Unica de Trabajadores and by the NC of the Defence of and Solidarity with Cuban Revolution Committee on which it has delegates
- b) official Pabloites-entrists lost more than 80 % of members

Dick Fidler

Livio Maitan, FI leader in Europe

-3-

LA = Latin America

now a handful c) the Partido Revolucionario Trotskyista which has broken from Pabloism particularly the LA Bureau has 15 members, lacks a newspaper

Argentina----

First met with the Pabloite LA Bureau. High anticipation as everywhere else Peru, Bolivia, Chile the local groups always answered that on the basis of democratic centralism impossible to discuss anything on their own. A.F. very cold---did not consider SWP a trotskyist organization. Claimed SWP represented some idea of a loose federation in violation of Leninist international. Would discuss but not matters involving internal questions of BLA as with any other labor grouping. No Trotskyists exist outside the Fourth International and if Hansen wanted to talk it would have to be on concrete points. Only unification he visualized was all come back to the FI and recognize their mistakes --assimilation--re-incorporation in the Fourth (International)

Joe pointed to different attitude with regards to trip from Paris and Pierre Frank and Maitan. He had had no communication from Paris whatsoever. Since FI favored unification and LA Bureau did not Joe suggested that LA Bureau appeared to operate as a federation and not democratic centralist. When Joe suggested common action--and spelled it out as aid to the Cuban Trotskyists A.F. claimed they were doing alright, needed no aid

So you see Pabloites in LA hostile to any suggestion of unification yet to see Brazil--Venezuela and Mexico

Letter from Buenos Aires Dec 6---prospects for forming a committee for the rehabilitation of the old Bolsheviks destroyed by Stalin good suggests start with France--Rosmer would give it a flying start in L.A. along with Sartre's aid. "The movement is much more advanced than any of us dreamed or could have hoped for."

And so you now know what I know about LA and Joe's tour. Of course there will be more letters coming in and then a big rounded detailed report and evaluation.

And now it is 10:30 and I really feel that I should write Ernie before it gets too late. However your comments with regards to Sue and Dick? I scarcely know Sue--it appears that she has got terribly behind in her school work and has been unable to attend even YSA meetings. But Dick. I am very much impressed. He told me the other day that I should know that he comes down here whenever he is depressed by lack of developments on the campus. And he has been down here a great deal. And by this I do not mean that he has been terribly depressed but that he is strongly tied to the party. A career in the university NDP is the last thing that Dick would think of. He has to gear himself to work in that arena as he is convinced of the correctness of the party's position. You must have noticed that he played a really excellent role at the Niagara Falls NDP convention and he did a repeat performance at the youth convention. He is very aggressive and very able. In fact we are having to curb him as we have no real flesh around us--the whole ND youth movement has little flesh. Has he not written you lately. I feel that Dick is the biggest gain in the youth field we have made--I believe that Ernie who knows him better than I also has this opinion. He has none of the characteristics of the student petty bourgeois. When you return--and when is that pray---you will find that in your turning up him you turned up a man of great promise.

And when are you going to take a holiday to England. I am really looking forward to hearing of your impressions for there is a movement with which

out the slightest language problem.

Next letter I will give you a little insight on the life and times of the Canadian revolutionary fall-winter 1961...my recent acquaintance with Sam Carr and our other efforts to take advantage of the impact of the 22nd Congress and the continuing criss of relations between K and M.

and so a Merry Christams to you John--hope life is not too lonely for you over there both politically and personally. Looking forward to your next letter.

warmest regards

Ross

December 28, 1961
81 Queen St West
Toronto

David McGarvie, Cumberland BC
Dear Dave

And who do you think I have a supper date with this evening--your old sidekick Jerry McKinney. He dropped down to the f rum last Friday night to have a lengthy talk with me, afterwards. It appears that he is attempting to do some serious work in the CP. He started off assrunig me that he was no Khrushchovite --that he had really only been about a 60% Trotskyist. I did not persue this matter as I could see no point. After all we certainly do wish to see if we can make contact with CP rank and file--and even promote a serious discussion within the ranks of that party on the whole question of Trotskyism--the politics of Stalinism, etc. Well Jerry is in one of the local CP clubs here. I can only gather that he is appallled by the lack of political discussion. The top brass are a parently firmly committed Khrushchov supporters and look upon him as a Mao man. He is confident that he will be a delegate to the coming CP national convention. It appears that there is considerable dissension in the CP but there is no crystallizing leadership. There are of course some hard tradtional old anti-Trotskyists but there is a much more general respectful-towards-us atitude through the ranks. We have spent some time over the last month and a half attempting to contact CP ranks. About every third person in attendance to a recent YCL meeting addressed by Buck bought a copy of the Militant--the one containing an extensive portion of Trotsky's testimony to the Dewey Commission and the SWP expression of support of the CP struggle against illegality. About one in four at a nomination meeting addressed by Buck bought a copy of the Br Newsletter that had considerable material on the re-think ing that is going on in the Italian YCL Our own paper was not yet off the press at that time. None of these meetings were very large---about 30 persons at each. One of our problems is finding CPers

Yesterday's Globe and Mail carried a New York Times dispatch on a major article that has appeared in Pravda over Kadar's name which raises thw whole question of Trotskyism. The bureaucracy has now having dropped the fascist mad dog formula reverted to the old crap about Trotsky wanting to stimulate revolution, underestimating the peasantry, ignoring the mundane problem of developing Soviet economy. Wellat anyrate they are now having to talk about politics which is good...and we are going to be able to inform workers about the politics, particularly the international politics of the Stalin cult--and how K is faithful to Stalin's politics,etc.

Big ti es for us. It would be a collosoal experience to be in Italy; France--areas where the CP is a mass movement. The Cdn CP is so pitiful. However Stalinism has got to be eased out of the way and times are highly favorable.

So as you can imagine the News and Views that you sent in interest us. We have seen this sheet before: In someways it discredits serious honest political opposition in the CP. I am sure that the CP brass would attempt to link any opposition up to it. And in some ways this sheet is scurrillous-- dealing in small change, inneundo., slander ,gossip. But it must reflect a certain healthy opposition in the CP. Yes it would certainly be well worthwhile to have some serious discussion with the worker that have them to you

As you can see back in December 28 I was compelled to drop your letter It is now January 8-- Since then Jerry McK has been around several more times

Last Friday after the forum he asked me to submit his re-application to the branch. Also managed to get a very nice ~~xxxx~~ letter to the editor of the Globe and Mail on that dispatch where Kadar raises the issue of Trotskyism. Since then there has been another item here in the press reporting on a speech that the Chinese delegate ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ gave to the Stockholm session of the World Peace Council. A frontal challenge to the CPSU and ~~the~~ all its peaceful co-exists who talk in terms of summity and not class struggle means to stop the war drive. We will probably carry this article which appeared in the December 22 Peking Review in the coming issue of the paper.

With regards to the Marxist school. I gather you are referring to the school that our southern comrades conduct every year over the fall-winter-spring period in New Jersey. For the past three or four sessions they have accepted one comrade from our ranks. They accept the recommendation of our PC which a couple of months before the opening sessions in October asks the branches to submit nominees. The person selected as far as they are concerned expense-wise has to get there with a selection of some 20 books used on the courses, be free for the whole period of the school into May. They recommend that he should have minimum \$10 a month for smokes and incidentals. Everything else is covered. Since this years student is from Toronto the Toronto branch is sending the comrade there \$10 a month. Should any comrade not own the books I am sure that we could arrange to borrow them. There is no reason for us to believe that there will not be a new session next fall. When we know for sure I will let you know and if you think you are in a position family-wise why not submit your name. Unfortunately we are in no position to help any comrade's family. ~~xxxxxx~~ There is also a West Coast school held by the Los Angeles comrades I am not sure when for a much shorter period which might be more practical for you to attend. I believe that the Vancouver comrade have usually sent several comrade. A couple of years ago a three to four day school was held jointly by our Seattle and Vancouver comrades on the Island there at Sooke. Ruth Bullock could give you any information you would want on these projects. On occasion Vancouver itself have held a three day straight educational conference which would be quite easy for you to get to.

I and everyone else I have spoken to thought your poem was a real contribution to the paper. The previous issue we carried one by Milton Acorn who perhaps you know is one of Canada's leading younger poets-- his writing appears in all the leading anthologies. He was in the CP but now is very close to us and would in all probability be with us if he were staying in Toronto. But in my opinion your rhyme is much better for our paper. Workers want to read something that has a simple rhythm and simple imagery. If you have any more of these short pithy comments lying around why send them in--we are good for one every other issue.

I know that I am not much of a correspondent--in many ways it would be best for you to keep up with things via Vancouver. However I have never heard from you just how you see the possibilities for work in the Cumberland Courtenay area. What is the situation with regards to the NDP in the area. Are you a member of the NDP--did you attend the recent island conference? As I recall that area there is a considerable left sentiment.

Do you have any connections with the trade union movement. It is always important it seems to me that we attempt to put our work on a systematic basis. Set our selves aims. I gather that you are a member of the NDP. What is doing in it. Are the socialist currents very strong, what is its composition. What were their reactions to the proscription of our press. This is what our paper and what our movement needs most of all--we need able correspondents and able proponents on our line in the mass movements.

I for my own purposes could do well with a picture of the working class scene in Cumberland area. In the process of working one up you might well gain a new insight into the problems and possibilities in the area for your own immediate purposes

Yes you are a member at large until you are in the vicinity of ~~the~~ a branch and our closest is Vancouver. If it were at all possible it would be very good if you were able to move into Vancouver. It is the important strategic center in BC where we have to build the movement and right now they could put your aid to very good use. Of course it would be nice to be able to establish a branch in Cumberland-Courtenay but that is not an easy task and generally I would favor concentration of our forces in BC in the Vancouver area...with plans to colonize such areas as you are now living in when we have developed our cadre, developed our leadership with a harmonious relationship with one another and a common approach. Will try to write more often.

Thanks for the item on the gang up to force the unemployed into the civil defence army.

fraternally

Ross Dowson